



Daily Report

Supplement

Soviet Union

***Regional Affairs
Western Republics***

FBIS-SOV-90-242-S
Monday
17 December 1990

Soviet Union SUPPLEMENT

Regional Affairs Western Republics

FBIS-SOV-90-242-S

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17 December 1990

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Western Republics

Belorussia

Communist Party Congress Views Canvassed

PM0612153990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
5 Dec 90 Second Edition p 3

["Discussion Page No. 74" report by correspondents A. Simurov and A. Ulitenok: "Position: Notes on the Belorussian Communists' 31st Congress"]

[Text] Minsk—Only yesterday on rostrums and in newspaper reports the words "party" and "party members" were used as synonyms for the CPSU and Communists. But today, when the sluice has been opened for a flood of pluralism, more than 20 parties and movements are operating in Belorussia alone. The times have demanded clarity of concepts and positions. The place of the Belorussian Communist Party in the contemporary political system was discussed at the Belorussian Communists' 31st congress.

Time for New Leaders

Opinions: From the Rostrum...

A. Grakhovskiy, first secretary of Gomel Belorussian Communist Party Obkom [Oblast Committee]:

"The inertia of the past and the burden of obsolete approaches have prevented the Central Committee Bureau members from taking timely account of new trends and qualitatively renewing work among Communists and nonparty people. The Secretariat has acted timidly and frequently in an inconsistent way. Heads of Central Committee departments have also somehow become lackluster. I believe that this was largely predetermined by the work style of First Secretary Ye.Ye. Sokolov. Much of what favorably distinguished the republic party organization in the past was lost under his leadership. The staff remained unreceptive to the life of the grass-roots components. There was a lot of subjectivism in cadre policy. Sometimes absolutely unnecessary interference in the purely economic distribution of means and resources among oblasts, particularly on account of Chernobyl, caused cadres to quarrel and sowed mistrust."

A. Prosina, first secretary of Svetlogorsk Belorussian Communist Party Gorkom [City Committee]:

"I believe that we should ungrudgingly acknowledge the mistakes in shaping the former leadership of the republic Communist Party.

"The delegates to the 30th Belorussian Communist Party Congress, who included myself, did not foresee that the times would demand different leaders, when not only the qualities of an economic planner but also those of a politician, a tribune, and a communicative person are advanced to the fore. Life has confirmed yet again that

cadres at such a level must be sober and realistic enough to leave at the right time and of their own will."

...In the Lobbies

"Today, the day of electing the first secretary, I recalled with envy a television picture: the sincere joy of Thatcher, who had just resigned, at the victory of her disciple... Here, unfortunately, no young successors turned up. Once again there were none to be found..."

[PRAVDA] "But why?"

V. Chikin, recently elected secretary of Minsk Gorkom [city party committee]:

"The long-standing inertia in selecting party cadres from a questionnaire told. My career, for example, has happened only thanks to perestroika, which has done away with rummaging in biographies. So the situation is changing cardinally. Young Communist leaders have already made their presence known, such as M. Podgaynyy, V. Mulyarchik, A. Kiryakov, A. Maksimovich..."

[PRAVDA] "What is their advantage?"

[Chikin] "The new people are learning the art of leadership in heated battles with their real political opponents."

Incidentally, Viktor Valentinovich also featured on the "informal" list of aspirants for Central Committee secretaryships which passed among the congress delegates. We read another new name there too—L. Radkevich, first secretary of the capital's Frunzenskiy Rayon party committee.

[PRAVDA] "Leonid Ivanovich, you were an awkward person for the resigning leadership of the Central Committee. Why?"

[Radkevich] "They did not like a different opinion, still less one publicly 'wired for sound.' For example, I criticized bureau members right to their faces for their desire to be nominated people's deputies only from rural districts..."

...At the Press Center

The congress began with a long and hard confrontation between the auditorium and the presidium over how to elect the new Central Committee secretaries—now or at an organizational plenum. They decided not to postpone the matter. That episode predetermined the course of the subsequent debate: Every speaker touched on the problem of leadership in one way or another.

It began to be interpreted on a personal level. This is not just a tribute to our traditional belief that, when things get tough, someone—a god, tsar, or hero—will come and show us, tell us, lead us out... Unfortunately, the situation in the Belorussian party organization took shape in such a way that right at the start of perestroika it found itself without outstanding, universally recognized authorities.

In the past there always were such people—and the republic was proud of the fact. But now some people have been criticized for covering up the scale of the Chernobyl disaster; others for excesses in daily life, the mercenary use of their official position, and moral inadequacy; yet others for narrowness of thinking, blinkered logic, and incompetence. Not possessing the skills to conduct an acute political struggle or debate and losing their heads, certain party functionaries simply hid in the cracks and lived and worked according to the principle: Don't show yourself, sit tight! And so it turned out that rallies, meetings, and discussion clubs were raging away from them. What was their position on this?

It is paradoxical that under these conditions the Central Committee leadership accused of all conceivable and inconceivable sins precisely those who held a non-standard opinion on questions of party tactics and strategy and who did not temporize but began acting vigorously in the new political situation.

Of course, all this could not fail to affect the elections for the new leaders of the Belorussian Communist Party. The agonizing search for them even went outside the republic. The congress had to urgently invite from Moscow V. Brovnikov, who had previously worked in Belorussia. There at once began a very acute rivalry among people preaching different views on perestroika and the party's role in it. The Central Committee first secretary was elected from among four candidates, in two rounds. The delegates preferred A. Malofeyev, who until then had headed the Minsk Oblast Belorussian Communist Party Committee.

The congress made its choice. But this did not exhaust the problem. In our view, it is time right now to think about the standard of training for leaders of all party committees.

About the Union and About Allies

Opinions: From the Rostrum...

N. Dementey, chairman of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet:

"At our congress we Communists of Belorussia must state precisely and clearly our attitude to the new Union treaty. Yes, we are in favor of strengthening the republic's state sovereignty and against the diktat of central departments and other attributes of a unitary state. But we must use all our political influence to defend the renewed Union of Soviet Republics and the friendship and equal rights of all our country's peoples. The Belorussian people can see no road to a civilized future for themselves outside such a Union."

...In the Lobbies

At the same time criticism mainly against the center was heard in certain speeches. We asked one of the delegates to comment on the course of the debate.

"It was no coincidence that the topic of relations between the center and the republic party organization headquarters, between Belorussia and the Union, was one of the key topics in the congress debate," A. Sanchukovskiy, former party leader and now general director of the "Gorizont" Association, believes.

[PRAVDA] "How do you view the speakers' criticism of Moscow?"

[Sanchukovskiy] "Sometimes it took the form of extremely close-range fire. Such an approach is obviously one-sided. There is a folk saying about this: It's always harder for Dad. Let's share equally the burden of responsibility for blunders and mistakes. That is fairer."

[PRAVDA] "Where is the way out?"

[Sanchukovskiy] "The main way has already been outlined—it is the program proposed by the president. The most important task now, in my view, is to conclude the new Union Treaty. Without it discord prevails, and each republic hears only itself."

The delegates discussed relations between the center and the republic from various aspects—state, party, economic, cultural. The opinion was unanimous: What is needed is a union of soviet socialist sovereign states, whose first principle must be the new Union treaty. The Belorussian Communist Party also advocated a unified all-Union market as the economic basis of inter-nation policy.

As regards the Belorussian Communist Party itself, it is seen as independent within the CPSU. An acute debate developed over the republic party organization statutes. They were rejected by a paper-thin majority. Two sets of statutes mean two parties, many delegates maintained. Which one should we be in? And they pointed to the tragic experience of the Baltic region.

At the congress firm support was voiced for the USSR president's program for getting the country out of the crisis.

A sociological study which we obtained at the press center also proved eloquent. Precisely 84.5 percent of the delegates polled favored the socialist path of development for Belorussia, 74.1 percent favored public ownership of the means of production, and 76.1 percent favored a renewed federation of union republics on the basis of the new Union treaty. And only 1.3 percent favored the republic's secession from the Union.

Like a Scaly Fish

Opinions: From the Rostrum...

I. Domenikan, machine operator on the Kalinin Kolkhoz [Collective Farm], Nesvizhskiy Rayon:

"The peasants have gotten new teachers too: One gives up land for nothing, another for money, and yet another wants to register as a private farmer and close down the

kolkhozes. But why must we abandon kolkhozes if meat and milk are produced in our rayon at the level of European countries? We have been producing 3.5 tonnes of meat, five tonnes of milk, and 7.5 tonnes of grain per worker."

...In the Lobbies

V. Chernyshev, machine operator from Tolochinskiy Rayon:

"If we do not fill the store shelves in the immediate future, we will get lost among the voluble parties which have emerged. Patrons are pushing us country folk into breaking up kolkhozes, into private ownership of land... Alas, there are not yet either the material conditions for this or any desire among the mass of peasants."

[PRAVDA] "Is this only your opinion?"

[Chernyshev] "No. Ordinary working people long ago saw from their own bitter experience that no hasty reorganizations produce the desired result for people. In general, the idea of restructuring the rural economy must be backed up by convincing calculations."

"The Belorussian Communist Party has advocated establishing the priority of collective forms of ownership, defining permissible limits for private enterprise, and monitoring it via state and public organizations. Let the people and the people alone decide what kind of ownership."

...At the Press Center

The delegates' attitude to the problems of the economy may be expressed in a few words: a cry from the heart. Negative statements were issued in bucketfuls, but constructive proposals and positive steps were mostly measured out in teaspoonfuls. Yet it is time to begin creating on an hourly and daily basis. But for the time being we spout as many words as a fish has scales.

The Chernobyl disaster and the republic's economy constitute a very acute topic, and a hard-hitting discussion took place. The center was hit particularly hard. The Belorussian Government was recommended to sue the USSR Council of Ministers for full compensation for the harm done to the republic and also for currency to be allocated to buy medical equipment and supplies for the rayons which suffered.

Enough of Sitting Tight!

Opinions: From the Rostrum

V. Grigoryev, first secretary of Vitebsk obkom:

"For long years ideological conviction was understood in our society as like-mindedness. That did ourselves, above all, a disservice by getting many people out of the habit of thinking independently and acting with initiative. We now have to admit that a great deal in the views and assertions of yesterday's ideological opponents

proved useful and correct. We must also admit something else: The directives and ideological guidelines that issued from the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee were, as a rule, intolerant of opposite viewpoints, did not take account of public opinion, and alienated a section of the creative intelligentsia. We should be as cultured as possible in our attitudes to the intelligentsia."

...In the Lobbies

S. Shushkevich, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet:

"This is the first time I have been a congress delegate: I admit I was expecting more of it."

[PRAVDA] "What, for example?"

[Shushkevich] "It raised no expectation of attracting to the top party leadership competent, skilled people who are well versed in the people's history and have mastered the new documents opened up by perestroika. Hence they are frequently unprepared, helpless, and afraid of sharp disputes with young opponents."

We could not fail to meet with V. Shchukin, machine operator for the No 2 Construction and Installation Administration near Minsk. True, he is a guest of the congress and so has a seat in the gallery. The point is that on the second day of the congress the delegates received an alternative draft of the Belorussian Communist Party statutes, written by him. An unusual action, you will agree.

[PRAVDA] "Valeriy Alekseyevich, why were you so late with your statutes?"

[Shchukin] "I wasn't; the congress organizers were. The text was submitted to the Central Committee in advance. But it was shelved there."

[PRAVDA] "What motivated you?"

[Shchukin] "I want party unity. I had heard enough talk at work about Communists and the party, and so I set to work."

...At the Press Center

Every day pickets from various public forces stood in front of the building of the Officers House, where the congress was taking place. We recall one of the posters: "Delegate, remember you are not in the trenches!" The allusion was obvious: Enough of sitting tight and giving in—it is time to get up and switch to a decisive political offensive.

This was the mood that imbued the auditorium. To its honor, it spoke about latter-day rivals and overt opponents not with hysterical emotion or malicious sarcasm but in a businesslike and constructive way, clearly aware that the Communist Party has come to face an alternative force, which must be taken seriously.

After leveling principled criticism at Belorussian Communist Party ideologues for numerous very flagrant errors in relations with the intelligentsia and the working class and with young people and the emergent parties, the delegates concentrated on formulating new tactics and strategy. It was proposed to create brain trusts of a kind under party committees. Their task is forecasting and psychological backup for the decisions adopted.

Similar groups of intellectuals will also be created to assist Communist deputies. Today, alas, they are not up to it. Thus, the party group in the republic Supreme Soviet is overtly losing out to the activeness of the opposition formed on the basis of the Belorussian People's Front. Yet it is right there, in the legislature, that the forward edge of the political front and uncompromising struggle for power lies. The question was put point-blank: It is time to recall from the soviets those Communists who are unable or are totally unwilling to engage in activity as a deputy, because they essentially ignore a very important party instruction. Meanwhile, it is already time to think about preparing for a new election campaign. The idea of creating special courses for the Communist Party's nominees is very apropos here—experience teaches that without serious preparation they, particularly workers and kolkhoz members, find it hard to win voters.

On the last day of the congress' work we asked A.S. Dzasokhov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to express his opinion of it.

"Above all," he said, "I want to voice satisfaction at the fact that, while among Belorussian Communists during these days, I gained a detailed idea of their sentiments, thoughts, and actions. The delegates worked hard during the discussion of the problem of party leaders and the party's leadership in society. A change of guidelines is taking place. It is proving hard to comprehend political forms and methods of work. Harmony was not sensed in everything, but it was useful that a true quest was conducted. The chief thing is that a high level of trust in each other combined with principle is now needed in the party. On no account must it confine itself within a narrow, purely party framework. The CPSU must turn more boldly and actively toward the people.

"The congress has shown that such trust is not achieved easily. There is the influence of, and strong pressure from, obsolete dogmatic ideas about socialism and about precisely which path to take toward democracy and the search for living conditions worthy of people.

"The problem of shaping a new economic environment and the new Union treaty elicited many questions from the congress delegates. These questions are interconnected and complex. Some people, for example, are shocked by the absence of the word 'socialism' from the draft treaty. Some speakers rejected the idea of the market. However, this is a real, effective way to get the

country out of the state of crisis. The party is required not so much to discuss the market as to head the process which has already begun.

"The specific geographic location of the republic enabled the delegates to understand this idea: As a great power, we must make ourselves fit in with a Europe which is being renewed. We must make use of the favorable international conditions to resolve our own difficult internal tasks. And here it is important not to draw distinctions between foreign and domestic policy questions."

Communist Party Official Reviews Congress Issues

91UN0366B Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 14 Nov 90 pp 1-2

"[On the Course of Preparations for the 31st Congress of the Belorussian Communist Party; Statement by Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Second Secretary A.S. Kamay at the 21st Plenum of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee"—SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA headline]

[Text] (Some abridgements are made to the statement.)

Esteemed comrades!

Immediate preparations for the 31st congress started with the 17th Plenum of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee which took place at the end of March and adopted the resolution to convene the congress, set the agenda, conduct the accountability and election campaign, norms for representation, and the procedure for choosing the congress delegates.

On the basis of proposals from primary party organizations, recommendations were drawn up for the election of delegates. As of today all 716 delegates have been elected. They represent rayon and city party organizations and the party organizations of military units and formations located on republic territory.

At the Central Committee plenum it was deemed necessary to start work on the drafts of program and normative documents for the republic Communist Party and to submit them for consideration by the congress. Those documents were first prepared in the republic party organization. The task was set of taking into account not only the situation today but also trying to predict the most probable trends in the development of the socio-political situation in the republic. It was necessary to take into account the economic independence of the republic and the processes taking place in internal party life, and to conduct an analysis of the conditions that will make it possible to insure that the party documents are political and consolidating in character.

In early April of this year the 18th Plenum of the Central Committee formed a special commission to work on the political documents for the 31st Congress of the Belorussian Communist Party, and already by the first 10-day

period of May the Central Committee Bureau was considering the fundamental principles to be employed in preparing those documents, and the thrust and purpose of the documents. Appropriate working groups were set up and a resolution adopted was published in the press.

It should be emphasized that we categorically rejected the "apparatus approach" to this work, and recruited for work on the draft documents the scientific-theoretical forces and party activists available in the republic Communist Party. In this connection corresponding assignments were given to the Minsk Higher Party School. We turned to the party obkoms and the party committees of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences and the Belorussian State University imeni V.I. Lenin, and to all communists in the republic, suggesting that they become involved in the work on these documents. The documents include proposals from primary party organization secretaries expressed during their meetings in the Central Committee within the framework of the preparations for the congress. The draft documents were discussed in all Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee commissions and considered by the preparatory commission for the 31st Congress of the Belorussian Communist Party, and after further work were published in the press. Exchanges, public debates, and roundtable discussions on them took place in the republic party organizations, and they were discussed at the accountability and election party meetings and conferences, and a number of comments and suggestions on them were published in the mass media. Opinions were carefully considered and generalized in the Central Committee departments. Therefore, today we have every reason for asserting that the documents that have been submitted for your consideration have been thoroughly prepared.

First, on 7 September, the draft Rules of the Belorussian Communist Party were published. Since then many proposals have been received. They have been generalized and on 30 and 31 October were examined by a working group together with delegates to the 31st Congress of the Belorussian Communist Party. More than 110 amendments were made to the draft, and they have been submitted for your consideration taking those amendments into account. We also ask you to express your opinion on an alternative set of draft rules drawn up by Comrade V.A. Shchukin and published in the press on 22 September this year.

I believe that it is essential to dwell on two viewpoints that are diametrically opposed one to the other. Some believe that our party should act on the basis of the unified CPSU Rules. The specific nature of the Belorussian Communist Party, they say, could be reflected in the organizational and statutory instructions.

Others insist on the need to adopt a set of independent rules for the Belorussian Communist Party that would not be at variance with the CPSU Rules and would not diverge from them on basic, fundamental issues, but would take into account the specific features of our Communist Party and would encompass the opinion of

Belorussian communists on a number of fundamental issues. Supporters of both the former and the latter are presenting arguments in their favor.

On this subject I would like to say the following. First, the CPSU Rules interpret common party issues. This is precisely why a number of proposals from communists in our republic are not included in the CPSU Rules. But they have been taken into account in the Belorussian Communist Party Rules.

Second, we are advocating sovereignty and economic and political independence for the republic, clearly as part of the CPSU and the USSR. But we cannot move decisively along that path if we are constantly looking back toward the center and checking our every step with its instructions. A set of Belorussian Communist Party Rules will offer greater scope in reaching independent decisions.

Third, without our own program and rules we shall be unable to raise ourselves higher than the status of a republic party organization.

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The Central Committee Organizational Party Work and Cadre Work Department has generalized the opinions expressed at party meetings and at rayon, city, and oblast conferences. The opinion dominates that the Belorussian Communist Party needs its own rules. It is therefore essential that we register ourselves as an independent political party.

The draft provisions on the Central Control Commission is essentially supported without comment, and from the local level a general desire has been expressed not to single out matters relating to the Chernobyl tragedy as a separate issue since it is not an organ in which it is necessary to have some additional structure specifically for that issue. Here, the logic is obvious, and this proposal can be adopted without reservation.

The draft concept for the Belorussian Communist Party Program was published on 14 October this year. A large group of party workers, scholars, and specialists took part in the work on it. This document has been repeatedly discussed at meetings of the working group and the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Commission. During the month since its publication there have been a few comments and proposals. They have all been taken into account. Virtually all of them focused attention on the need for a more precise definition of the attitude of the Belorussian Communist Party toward problems such as privatization, denationalization of the economy, private ownership of land, and the market.

The draft "Position and Action Program of the Belorussian Communist Party in Connection with the Republic's Transition to Market Relations" has been submitted for consideration by the plenum.

The appearance of this document has been the result of the party's concern for the fate of the profound transformations that will take place in society under the conditions of the formation of market relations. It also stems from an uneasiness that the transition to the market being effected in the interests of the people and affecting the vital interests of all social groups in the population may rebound against the working man and lead to a worsening of his life and become a means of restoring capitalism in the country and changing the political system. Communists and nonparty people are constantly reminding us of this at party meetings and conferences and at meetings in the labor collectives.

The proposed draft expresses the attitude of the republic's Communists to the planned changes and defines tasks in the realization of urgent measures to stabilize the situation in the consumer market and mitigate possible negative processes during the period of transition to a regulated market economy.

In particular, it talks of the national achievement of the Belorussian people, the diversity of the economy, the nature of state ownership, privatization and the attitude toward private ownership of land, and structural changes in the national economy and the directions of its development.

The position of the party and its tasks in matters relating to strengthening state power, discipline in maintaining public order, the fight against crime and speculation, and other issues important for the future of the socialist state and people are also set forth.

The document emphasizes in particular that the Belorussian Communist Party will wage an active political struggle to insure reliable social safeguards for the working man, and will oppose those forces whose actions run counter to the interests of the people. It is stated that communists will act against any illegal social privileges for particular categories of persons, but will pay special attention to the disabled, war veterans, large families, and single mothers, and to state assistance for low-income and socially vulnerable strata of the population.

The proposed draft of the document was considered on 5 November by a group of delegates to the 31st Congress of the Belorussian Communist Party and further work was done on it.

I would like particularly to emphasize that according to our information it is supported by the communists of Belorussia. They note its specific nature and sense of purpose in solving the very important problems facing the republic. The opinion has been expressed that the combative nature of this and other political documents adopted by the party should be preserved and even strengthened.

The Central Committee Bureau believes that after further work, giving due consideration to the debate at this plenum, these documents can be submitted for consideration by the 31st Congress.

It is also necessary to talk about one other document. This is the draft regulations for the 31st Congress. Work on it has taken up a great deal of time and a large number of proposals have been considered. On 30 August the Central Committee Bureau reviewed the draft and decided to pass it on to the party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms [oblast, city and rayon committees] so that congress delegates and the party aktiv could familiarize themselves with it.

As of today another 53 comments and proposals have been submitted and editorial amendments have been made. They have all been carefully reviewed and 39 of them have been incorporated into the draft. I think that there is no need to talk about all of them. Let me merely emphasize that in our view we must adopt resolutions on organizing the work of one more section in the "Issues Relating to Chernobyl" section, and also draw up an additional resolution on Belorussian Communist Party policy in the field of public health, physical culture, and sport.

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The draft regulations for the congress provide for the adoption of nine resolutions. I have already said that it has been proposed that a tenth be added. The drafts of these documents are now being made ready in the Central Committee departments. It is proposed from tomorrow to include congress delegates in this work. Then, giving due consideration to the changes and amendments introduced, the drafts will be submitted for consideration by the 31st Congress of the Belorussian Communist Party.

The main measures in the preparations for the 31st Congress of the Belorussian Communist Party also envisage solutions for other issues. In particular, work is being done to prepare information and reference materials for delegates, and a procedure has been decided on for the review of letters and statements from workers, appeals from communists, and letters addressed to the congress, and provision has been made for making stenographic records of the congress sessions and for covering the congress in the press and on television and radio.

Assignments have also been given to insure the most productive work by delegates at the forthcoming congress.

Principles for forming leading organs of the Belorussian Communist Party have been approved in the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and party obkoms, and at oblast party conferences.

The accountability and election campaign has been an important stage in the preparations for the 31st Congress of the Belorussian Communist Party. The results of the meetings and conferences have not been the same everywhere. And today it cannot be said that all participants considered in detail the results of the 28th CPSU Congress and the documents it adopted, and on this basis

determined their own role and place in the life of the labor collectives and the cities, rayons, and oblasts.

The disquiet about the fate of the Communist Party, the alarming situation that has taken shape in society—the result of the failures in the economy—and impoverishment of the consumer market, and the declining level of discipline and responsibility at all levels, has been reflected everywhere at meetings and conferences. Of course, it would be incorrect for the communists to avoid discussion of the problems that are worrying the population today. However, the usefulness of some meetings and conferences was significantly lowered because the emphasis was laid mainly on recording all our social ills, while questions relating to what the party organizations can and should do today to improve the situation became a secondary consideration. There were many critics present, and they addressed those present and particularly those absent. But it is one thing to enumerate the shortcomings and even name the reasons and who is to blame and with that consider the task done, and quite another to decide on measures to change the situation for the better.

The meetings and conferences undoubtedly played a definite role in clarifying the positions of party members in the present far from simple sociopolitical situation. At many of them quite clear-cut decisions were reached in defining the line for action during the upcoming period. During the period August through October 1,624 comrades joined the party.

At party meetings and at meetings in the Central Committee with primary party organization secretaries this question was often heard: What should the primary party organizations be doing in the present situation? I would like to emphasize once again that the primary party organizations should be engaged in everything that is worrying people and the labor collectives, everything that forms conscious discipline, a sense of organization, and order, everything that develops party comradeship, mutual understanding, and democracy, that instills political standards and an elevated sense of spirituality and morality, that moves society toward progress and justice.

During the course of the present accountability and election campaign 29.8 percent of party group organizers were replaced, along with almost 40 percent of shop secretaries, and more than 33 percent of the primary party organizations' secretaries. This should be considered a natural phenomenon. I consider it essential to say that this year the members of elected organs and workers in the party apparatus have significantly activated their participation in the accountability and election campaign. Members of the Central Committee and its apparatus workers have taken part in almost 600 meetings and conferences, and members and workers in the party obkoms have attended about 2,500 meetings. More than one-third of the meetings in group, shop, and primary party organizations were attended by members of the party gorkom and raykom bureaus. All the secretaries

and Central Committee department chiefs have been to rayon, city, and oblast party conferences.

Another special feature of the present accountability and election campaign has been the adoption at meetings and conferences of statements, appeals, and resolutions expressing the attitude of communists toward the sociopolitical situation in the country and the republic. The dominant theme was the crisis in the party and in society, the growing anticommunist hysteria, and defending the ideas of October and the name of V.I. Lenin. Attitudes may be different but one thing is clear: The resolutions and appeals have demonstrated the profound dissatisfaction of the party masses with the policy of connivance with anticommunist and antisocialist forces now being pursued, and the clear desire of the communists of Belorussia to consolidate themselves in the face of the real threat of the collapse of the Communist Party and the unified Union Socialist state.

This circumstance is also leaving its mark on the work to prepare the political documents for the 31st Congress.

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In order to insure in fact power for the party masses, the Central Committee Bureau has been paying a great deal of attention to improving the structure and staffing of the republic's party organs. This work is now virtually complete.

As a rule, three commissions have been set up in the party gorkoms and raykoms, namely, commissions for organizational party work, for ideological work, and for socioeconomic development, and the appropriate party committee secretaries have been put in charge of them.

The Central Committee Bureau has supported proposals from party obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms to combine some city and rayon party committees, and also to improve the structure of party gorkoms that have a rayon division, and of party committees which enjoy the rights of party raykoms. As of now the following have been abolished: the Leninskiy and Moskovskiy Party Raykoms in Brest City; the Zheleznodorozhnyy, Novobelitskiy, Sovetskiy, and Tsentralnyy Raykoms in Gomel City; the Leninskiy and Oktyabrskiy Party Raykoms in the cities of Grodno and Bobruysk; the Leninskiy, Oktyabrskiy, and Tsentralnyy Raykoms in Mogilev City. The Soligorsk City and Rayon party organizations have been combined, and the rights of the party raykom and party committees at the "Bobruyskdrev" Prodas and the Belorussian Civil Aviation Administration have been rescinded.

Five commissions have been formed in the structure of the party obkoms, namely, for organizational party and cadre work, for ideological work, for cooperation with state and public health organs, for socioeconomic policy issues, and for agrarian policy, and party obkom secretaries have been put in charge of them.

Structural changes are being effected in the Central Committee apparatus and significant cuts are being

made. The composition of the party Central Committee has been significantly renewed. A department has been set up to deal with sociopolitical organizations and movements, along with a press center and a group to monitor the resolution of problems relating to the cleanup at the Chernobyl nuclear power station. An organizational department has been formed on the basis of the organizational party and cadre work department, and a socioeconomic policy department based on the socioeconomic and defense industry departments. The agrarian department has been made the agrarian policy department.

It is proposed that five standing commissions headed by Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee secretaries will be set up at the 31st Congress of the Belorussian Communist Party: a commission for work with the primary party organizations, an ideological commission, a socioeconomic policy commission, an agrarian policy commission, a commission for links with the soviets of peoples' deputies and legislative initiative and legal matters. Their activity should be effected by the appropriate Central Committee departments. There are plans for an entire system of other qualitative changes that will enable the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee to keep its finger firmly on the pulse of life in the primary party organizations and on this basis devise a unified policy and alter its tactics in a flexible way, constantly arm the lower party wings with clear political landmarks, and consistently pursue a political course through the communists in state and economic subdivisions and services.

It must be said with great bitterness at this plenum today that this accountability and election campaign has been the least well covered ever by the republic press and radio and television. The small quantity of published pieces and broadcasts did include some success and there were interesting ones that dealt with very important issues in party life. But it must be stated candidly that they were lost among material that passed almost unnoticed because of its superficiality and random choice of examples and arguments, and they were presented on the wave of general party criticism. I would therefore like to appeal to our journalists and ask for their understanding of the acute nature of this present moment, and of the responsibility that they carry, as never before, for insuring support for our socialist choice and the consolidating and vanguard role of the Communist Party, and asserting its authority by covering the practical affairs of communists, party organizations, and labor collectives.

Only days remain before the 31st Congress of the Belorussian Communist Party. It is very important that those attending the Central Committee plenum today do the maximum possible for its subsequent fruitful work. You must work deeply and comprehensively on the documents submitted to this plenum so that they can be presented to the congress delegates for their consideration.

Minsk Obkom First Secretary Replaced

*LD0712140190 Minsk Domestic Service
in Belorussian 0650 GMT 7 Dec 90*

[Text] A plenum of the Minsk Oblast Party Committee [obkom] has taken place. It dealt with organizational questions. In connection with Malofeyev having been elected first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, he was released from the post of Minsk Obkom first secretary.

The plenum elected A. Bychak as first secretary. Previously, he worked as Minsk Obkom second secretary.

Radioactive Meat 4-Year Odyssey Reported

*LD1012130990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0549 GMT 10 Dec 90*

[Text] [Announcer] The situation which we are going to tell you about now can only be described as extraordinary. A half-forgotten trainload of radioactive meat is standing at Iolcha railway station in Gomel Oblast. "Mayak" radio listeners telephoned to express their outrage when this news was reported. The kindest words they had for it were: barbaric and terrible. People want to know whether this is actually true, and, if so, how such a thing could happen. Let us try to get answers to these questions by going over live to Minsk where Petr Makritskiy is on the line:

[Makritskiy] Good day.

[Announcer] Hello.

[Makritskiy] In front of me I have a photograph of the ill-starred train. It consists of 29 refrigerated trucks containing 518 tons of radioactive meat. It has been standing at Iolcha railway station since 4 April. Four years ago these trucks were despatched to Georgia from the Gomel and Kalinkovich meat combines. But after a nomadic journey round the country, they arrived back where they started.

[Announcer] Everything about this story is amazing—the very fact that the train spent four years travelling round the country, the very fact that the meat survived its four-year journey. Is that not so? But what were the circumstances surrounding the despatch of the contaminated meat?

[Makritskiy] Well, according to various official sources in our republic—and I rang round many of them, including the State Committee for Food and Procurement, the Council of Ministers, and Bragin district party committee—there was nothing illegal about the despatch of the meat. It conformed with VDU-86 in force at the time, in other words the level of radiation temporarily permitted in 1986. The meat was deemed to be fit for human consumption. Nevertheless, the consignees refused to accept it. That was when the train began its journey round the country. It seems that when a system

of responsibility breaks down, such a game of ping-pong is possible. As a result the train was shunted around from place to place.

[Announcer] I don't think this is a very funny joke, Petr.

[Makritskiy] No, it is not really very funny. Sad as it may be to consider and admit such things, it is a fact that our country is probably the only one in the world where such dire mismanagement is possible.

[Announcer] But there must have been some reasons for acting this way and, above all, the documents must have been signed when this frightful cargo was despatched and when the time came to bury it. Is that not so?

[Makritskiy] Yes. The so-called VDUs, which I have already mentioned, have become considerably more stringent over the years. However, the problem of building a tomb has still not been settled. It is certainly difficult to justify such a delay. There has been so much correspondence on this subject within the central government, within the governments of the Ukraine and Belorussia. I suggest you listen to an authoritative voice: Viktor Nikolayevich Burovik, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian State Committee responsible for dealing with the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster, who is in our studio.

[Announcer] Hello, Viktor Nikolayevich.

[Burovik] Good morning, Moscow. Good morning, listeners. I am quite prepared to confirm the information which your correspondent has just given. This information has been published in detail in our republican press. The fact is that over 20,000 tons of contaminated meat, whose radioactivity exceeded the level permitted in 1986, which you have just heard about from Petr Fedorovich, was indeed produced in our republic during 1986, immediately after the accident. On instructions from various all-Union bodies, this meat was despatched to various regions of our republic, including the 518 tons which, as you have heard, went to Georgia.

[Announcer] Is this train guarded at the moment? I believe that reports in the republican press are saying that seals have been broken on a number of trucks, the doors have been opened, and the meat is actually being sold at nearby villages. After all, meat is in short supply.

[Burovik] It goes without saying that I...[changes thought] I would like to answer your question this way. Alas, there is no complete guarantee that the meat is being guarded properly, any more so than the entire closed zone, as the 30-km zone surrounded by barbed wire is known. Part of this zone lies within the republic, and part lies within the Ukraine. In fact, the place where the train is now standing is located within this very zone. Unfortunately, the entire zone is guarded very, very badly. Therefore, I cannot give you an absolute guarantee that this trainload is being guarded properly. As far as the other part of your question is concerned, the claims that this meat is being sold in nearby villages, I

think this is an exaggeration—and this is why: The standards in force in our country—and indeed common-sense—dictate that meat which has been in a frozen state for over a year is in principle no longer fit for human consumption. This is because its marketable state—its biological state, let's say—has changed. The meat we are discussing today has been unfrozen and frozen again many times during the many years it has now spent travelling round the country. So, you will appreciate what kind of state it is in now.

[Announcer] Yes. If this is so, one naturally wants to know when a tomb will be built for this product, if one may call it that.

[Burovik] Yes, it's a very good question. It has been under discussion ever since the train arrived back in the republic on 4 April this year. That was when the argument about who should build the tomb started. The well-known Pripyat scientific production association didn't want to build it itself. Gomel Oblast Executive Committee insisted that the Ministry for the Nuclear Power Industry should take some part in the work, but the latter did nothing about it. Unfortunately this wrangling dragged on.

The situation as it stands today is as follows. The client has been clearly defined. It is the agroindustrial committee of Gomel Oblast Executive Committee. Land has been set aside for the construction of this burial site which, I stress, is a special one. It will be built within the 30-km zone. The main building contractor will be the Pripyat scientific production association.

There is something else I would like to add. As you will recall, at the very beginning of our conversation I mentioned that over 20,000 tons of contaminated meat was produced in the republic as a whole during 1986 alone.

[Announcer] Yes.

[Burovik] More rigorous standards have already been set and, as a result of measures which are being implemented, the amount of contaminated meat has been steadily falling. In spite of all this, about 30,000 tons have been produced in the republic over the last four-and-a-half years. Stocks of this size have built up since then. But, according to the figures for the first 11 months of this year, only 80 tons has been produced. So, the difference is substantial, as you will understand. Nevertheless, the problem remains, because this meat has been lying at a number of cold stores in our republic since 1986. It is waiting to be buried.

[Announcer] Well, judging by the approach you are adopting today, this problem can be resolved. Let's hope that this will happen in the near future.

Belorussian Discussion on Enterprise Law

LD1312234990 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1626 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Minsk, 13 Dec (BELTA-TASS)—An article on the creation of work collective councils has not been included in the law "on enterprises in the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic," which was debated today at the session of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet. This law grants the work collectives the right to decide for themselves all questions of self-management, being guided only by their own rules.

During discussion of the bill it was emphasized that along with the benefit that work collective councils brought, they have often—through the indeterminate nature of their functions and powers—only duplicated the functions of trade union bodies and management and in many instances have been the cause of a deterioration in the activities of enterprises. In the view of most Belorussian legislators, the granting of the right to work collectives to choose their managers is a step that was not thoroughly thought through, and which violated the necessary degree of single centralized economic management.

At the same time the law introduces a new structure—the enterprise council (board). It will consist of an equal number of representatives appointed by the owner and elected by the work collective. In the view of those drawing up the draft, this body is analogous in many ways to the "supervisory councils" existing at enterprises in many advanced countries and it is meant to balance the interests of the owner and the working people in running the enterprise as well as in resolving certain conflict situations.

By a majority of votes, the Belorussian legislature has rejected two fundamental amendments tabled by representatives of the opposition. A provision on prohibiting the creation of joint enterprises by public associations pursuing political goals was not accepted. Nor was a provision on the introduction into the law of a "private enterprise" article.

The session is continuing its work.

Belorussian Communist Party Issues Draft Program

91UN02864 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 14 Oct 90 p 2

["Draft Concept of the Communist Party of Belorussia Program (to be submitted for consideration by the 31st Communist Party of Belorussia Congress)"]—SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA headline]

[Text] The republic Communist Party is approaching its 31st congress. Proceeding from the program statement and rules of the CPSU and the new status of the republic Communist Party, the commission for preparation of

the congress has drawn up a draft concept of the Communist Party of Belorussia Program.

Considering the seriousness of the situation that has come about in society in connection with the transition to market relations, the commission has prepared also a draft document on the position of the Communist Party of Belorussia and its action program under these conditions. They take account of the proposals of the party committees, members of the Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee, and individual communists.

The Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee appeals to the party organizations and all communists and working people of the republic to participate actively in the discussion of these documents and to express their proposals and comments.

I. Lessons of the Past and Tasks of the Future

Soviet Belorussia, like the whole country, is at a pivotal stage in history. Profound changes geared to the establishment of the principles of humanism, democracy, and social justice are being implemented. The political and spiritual emancipation of the people is underway, and their national self-awareness is reviving. People are acquiring civic dignity and a belief in themselves. Passiveness and man's estrangement from politics and power and from the material and spiritual wealth he has created are being overcome.

The Communist Party of Belorussia—a party of a socialist choice and communist outlook—advocates radical transformations in the republic and supports the program statement of the 28th CPSU Congress and the strategic policy of perestroika.

Since its formation in 1918 the Communist Party of Belorussia has been the leading political factor of the cohesion of the progressive forces and their struggle for the vital interests of the working people. Continuing the cause of October, the communists have with the whole people led the republic out of age-old backwardness. A heroic page in the history of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] was inscribed by the Communist Party of Western Belorussia. Thousands of communists fought courageously against the enemy in the Great Patriotic War years. Remembrance of the sacrifices made by the Belorussian people and all Soviet people in the hour of grim ordeals is imperishable.

The revolutionary gains of the people cannot be canceled out. Materialized in all that has been achieved by Belorussia in the years of Soviet power is the labor, will, and energy, patriotism, and internationalism of our people.

The Communist Party of Belorussia evaluates its activity critically and is profoundly aware of the entire complexity and contradictoriness of the current moment. Processes of revolutionary renewal are occurring in a

strict confrontation of old and new and being accompanied by a clash of various social and political forces. Social tension is growing, discipline is declining, and law and order is deteriorating. The economy and the commodity market have become unbalanced. The state of science, education, culture, and health care is causing public concern. An extremely negative influence on the social and political situation in the republic and people's general feelings and mood is being exerted by the consequences of the catastrophe at the Chernobyl AES [Nuclear Electric Power Station]. The accident was a national disaster and has jeopardized the future of the Belorussian people. The party, soviet, and state authorities in the center and locally failed to appreciate in good time the dimensions of what had happened and were tardy in devising and adopting the necessary measures to ensure the safe residence of the population on the contaminated territory.

The complex situation in which the republic has found itself and the deep-lying sources of the present crisis are not the result of the inferiority of the socialist idea itself but of the deformations to which it was subjected in the past. The Communist Party of Belorussia emphatically condemns the crimes of the Stalin times, renounces the former dogmatic approaches to the development of the economy, education, science, and national culture, and dissociates itself from all antidemocratic, inhumane means of solving problems of society's development. It advocates the complete elimination of the outmoded administrative command system and a transition to market relations, economic methods of management of Belorussia's economy, restoration in full of the rights and freedoms of the individual, and the establishment of the supremacy of the law.

The Communist Party of Belorussia does not absolve itself of political and moral responsibility for the phenomena born of deviations from the Leninist principles of the building of socialism and the ill-considered nature of a number of decisions and actions, mistakes, and miscalculations permitted in the years of perestroika even.

In the present complex situation of diversity of economic and social interests and political and ideological-cultural currents the Communist Party of Belorussia offers the people its vision of the prospects of the republic's further development. While expressing and upholding the interests of the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia, it will consistently take the path of the creation of a humane, democratic socialist society providing for all-around economic, scientific-technological, and spiritual progress in the channel of world civilization, a society in which the free development of each is the condition of the free development of all, and man, its main value.

The building of a socialist society is not the embodiment of a ready-made model, it is a permanent process of social development with deep historical roots.

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Realization of the socialist idea and the combination of socialism and man's interests means the creation of a state based on the rule of law under the control of a society whose sole source of authority is the sovereign will of the people as the owner of the land and the means of production, disposing of the results of their labor and establishing in society through the organs of power of the people democracy, a respectful attitude toward the individual, freedom of thought and speech, and an opportunity for each person to display his capabilities and realize his plans in life.

The highest goal of the Communist Party of Belorussia is the achievement of the complete well-being of the people. The way to this is the creation of an efficient economy subordinate to man's requirements and the safeguarding at the time of the transition to market relations of social justice and the reliable protection of the working people. Communists are for the real sovereignty of Belorussia within a renewed Union of sovereign socialist states, the establishment of the complete power of the people through the soviets of people's deputies, and the republic's openness to the world.

The Communist Party of Belorussia is fully resolved to seek the set goals by exclusively political means and will support and defend all who by their honest, conscientious labor create the well-being and values of the people.

II. The Communist Party of Belorussia in the Current Political System

1. Renewal and Democratization of the Party

The Communist Party of Belorussia sets as its goal progress toward democratic, humane socialism and will organize its work on the principles of the creative development of Marxism-Leninism and its enrichment with the achievements of world social thought.

The Communist Party of Belorussia is independent within the CPSU. While recognizing the program documents of the CPSU, at the same time it implements its own program, is guided by its own rules, pursues a policy line in keeping with the interests and national traditions of the Belorussian people, and independently decides the entire set of ideological, organizational, personnel, and financial questions.

The social base of the Communist Party of Belorussia is the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia devoted to the ideology of the socialist choice.

The Communist Party of Belorussia will divest itself of functions that are not within its province, operate in accordance with the constitution and laws of the Belorussian SSR, nominate its own representatives for the soviets of people's deputies and state and public

organizations, and form party groups, factions, and interparty blocs in them. The party will confirm its vanguard role by practical action pertaining to the renewal of the socialist society. It will pursue its policy course through the primary party organizations, the party committees, and the communists working in the soviets of people's deputies, economic-management bodies, the work force, and public organizations, and by way of the development of organizing and political work in the masses.

The Communist Party of Belorussia is prepared for cooperation and the formation of political blocs with all public organizations, movements, and groups supporting the renewal of society on a socialist basis and for constructive dialogue with various ideological and political currents for the accomplishment of the tasks of the republic's political, spiritual, and socioeconomic development. It emphatically condemns and rejects actions aimed at the discrediting of Lenin's ideas and the compromising and undermining of the socialist system and attempts to cultivate anticommunism and anti-Sovietism.

The party declares its interest in the preservation of trade union unity and strong, authoritative, and active trade unions capable of defending the rights and interests of the working people.

The Communist Party of Belorussia considers essential the pursuit of an effective official youth policy. It sees the republic Komsomol [Communist Youth League] as an independent social and political youth organization adhering to a common political platform with the Communist Party of Belorussia. The Communist Party of Belorussia will organize its relations with youth organizations and movements of a socialist persuasion on the principles of dialogue and equal partnership and will assist the renewal of the Komsomol and a strengthening of its authority and vanguard role among the youth.

The Communist Party of Belorussia advocates the creation of party organizations in the Armed Forces, the state security authorities, and the law enforcement authorities, proceeding from the fact that party membership must not prevent them performing their functional duties.

The Communist Party of Belorussia cooperates with the communist parties of the Union republics, defends the ideological and organizational unity of the CPSU, develops and perfects relations with progressive parties and public movements of foreign countries, and advocates mutual understanding and peace between peoples.

2. Ideological Work

The Communist Party of Belorussia sees as a most important task the creative development of the theory and practice of socialism and the new political thinking based on the constructive interpretation of the Marxist-Leninist heritage, the historical experience of the 20th century, and the achievements of modern civilization.

The Communist Party of Belorussia actively champions the dialectical-materialist world outlook, propagandizes the ideas, moral and social priorities, and ethical values inherent in the socialist society, and struggles for their implementation. The party's social ideal imbibes humanitarian principles of human culture, working people's age-old aspiration to peace and a better life, and struggle against all forms of exploitation, violence, and oppression.

The socialist choice may be realized only through labor and on the basis of the actual economic interest of the workers and work force through the transfer to the working people of the right of ownership and provision for their participation in the affairs of state by way of free elections to all organs of power.

The Communist Party of Belorussia will:

- perform political work based on a consideration of the interests of man and society proceeding from the realities of life, an understanding of the need for constant contact with people, and cognizance of their material needs and spiritual aspirations;

- affirm diligence, comradeship, charity, and kindness and a respectful attitude toward legality and standards of public morality and the ideals of a society in which priorities are values common to all mankind, the rights and political liberties of the citizens are observed unswervingly, social, economic, and political justice and the protection of the working people are guaranteed, and there is every opportunity for the all-around spiritual and moral elevation of the personality;

- propagandize the party's ideals, convince the working people of the soundness of its policy, and enlist people in assertive activity for the renewal of society;

- expand the range of the means and methods of political work corresponding to the current living conditions of society and party activity and find new ways of realizing socialist values and ideals;

- constantly update the content, forms, and methods of ideological and educational work and build it on democratic principles, extensive glasnost and information openness, consideration of public opinion, renunciation of ideological monopolism and diktat, free competition of views and ideas, and the use exclusively of the power of persuasion, arguments, and moral authority;

- seek the unification around its ideas and policy of the best intellectual forces capable of shaping dynamic, flexible, and nontraditional approaches to the accomplishment of the tasks of revolutionary restructuring.

3. The Party and the Mass Media

The Communist Party of Belorussia has its own newspapers and journals and engages in publishing activity. It organizes relations between party committees and editorial outfits on the basis of complete trust and practical cooperation, when freedom of creativity, journalists' own vision of problems, and extensive glasnost are

combined with profound knowledgeability, political balance, responsibility, and objectivity.

The Communist Party of Belorussia advocates a qualitative updating of the content and a change in the role and functions of party publications. They are designed to reveal and uphold party positions on key questions of the life of society, objectively reflect processes of its renewal, and struggle for the moral purity of the communists. Apparatus diktat is impermissible in the relations of the party committees and their press organs.

The Communist Party of Belorussia rejects the use of the mass media for the propaganda of selfish egotistical and group interests and anticommunist, chauvinist, and nationalist ideas. Each word on the pages of newspapers and journals and on television and radio broadcasts must be truthful and convincing and in keeping with the noble goals of society and people's concerns and aspirations.

III. The Sovereignty of Soviet Belorussia, a State Based on the Rule of Law and the Genuine Power of the People

1. Sovereignty of the Belorussian SSR

A key issue in the activity of the republic Communist Party is active assistance to the authorities in the establishment of the sovereignty of the Belorussian SSR within a Union of sovereign socialist states created on the basis of a new Union treaty.

The Communist Party of Belorussia supports the declaration "State Sovereignty of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic" as the basis of the new Union treaty and the new constitution of the Belorussian SSR. These two documents, of great importance for the fate of the republic and the Union, must express the wishes of the entire people of the Belorussian SSR and be adopted only following their public discussion.

2. For a Democratic State Based on the Rule of Law

The Communist Party of Belorussia will contribute by practical deeds to the formation of a socialist state based on the rule of law and the affirmation of the supremacy of democratically enacted law and the equality of all before the law and genuinely humane relations between the state, society, and the individual, and their mutual responsibility; and to the legislative enshrinement of democratic processes in all walks of life and the full alignment of republic legislation with the rules of international law.

The Communist Party of Belorussia advocates:

the legal enshrinement in the new Belorussian SSR Constitution of the sovereignty of the soviets of people's deputies and the unconditional subordination and accountability to them of all state authorities;

the institution of the office of president of the Belorussian SSR and the election of the president by all citizens of the republic on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage, given a ballot;
an increase in the efficiency of the authorities and the development of diverse forms of public self-management;
the independence of the court and the procuracy and their subordination only to the law and an enhancement of the role of the militia, the Bar, and arbitration in the protection of the rights and legitimate interests of the citizens and organizations.

The Communist Party of Belorussia will seek a recovery in the moral atmosphere in society, the utmost strengthening of legality and law and order, discipline, and responsibility, and the adoption and realization of effective systemic measures to eradicate crime and other antisocial phenomena.

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The republic Communist Party deems necessary participation in the elaboration and realization of the military reform of the country's Armed Forces and conversion of the defense sectors with regard for the interests of the Belorussian SSR, and will defend the unity of the Army and the people and struggle for an improvement in the everyday conditions and social protection of the servicemen and their families.

3. National Accord and Interethnic Relations

The main purpose of the nationality policy of the Communist Party of Belorussia is the total equality of all citizens of the republic, regardless of their national affiliation, language, attitude toward religion, and length of residence on Belorussian territory, the achievement of Soviet people's genuinely internationalist unity, the restoration of a respectful attitude toward national languages, cultures, traditions, and customs, and the assurance of harmony between all citizens.

The Communist Party of Belorussia supports the creation of national cultural centers, societies, and associations whose activity is geared to a strengthening of friendship between peoples, the development of relations with compatriots who live outside of the republic, and assistance to them in preservation of the native language and culture. It will contribute to the active introduction of Belorussian as the official language in all spheres of social life and advocates the unrestricted functioning of Russian as the language of interethnic communication.

IV. Man, Society, Social Policy

1. The Law and Man's Social Protection

The Communist Party of Belorussia puts at the center of its policy the creation of the necessary political, economic, social, and spiritual conditions for the all-around development and creative self-realization of each citizen of the republic and advocates:

unconditional realization of the constitutional right to labor, its fair remuneration in accordance with end results, a revival of the authority of honest, conscientious labor, and the encouragement of initiative and enterprise in all spheres of man's activity;

the creation under the conditions of the market economy of a mechanism for maintaining employment, placement, and vocational retraining and also compensatory payments in a period of forced temporary unemployment;

assurance of healthy and safe conditions in the workplace, a shortening of the work day, and an increase in the amount of leave in line with productivity growth; the guaranteed growth of individuals' real income, an improvement in the social support of retirees, invalids, child orphans, large families, and other groups of citizens with a low living standard, and the solution, as a priority, of the urgent problems of war veterans, soldier-internationalists, and persons affected as the result of the Chernobyl catastrophe;

the speediest elimination of the shortages on the consumer market, its rapid saturation with goods and services, and the maintenance of fixed and affordable prices for a number of basic necessities;

an acceleration of the solution of the food problem;

an appreciable increase in the extent of housing construction, thanks to the resources of enterprises, organizations, farms, and cooperatives, including individuals' savings; the transfer and sale of housing to the ownership of the working people;

a significant increase in appropriations for the needs of health care and assurance of the affordability and high quality of medical assistance for the population based on a fundamental reinforcement of the physical plant; introduction of a healthy lifestyle and the development of physical culture and sport;

assurance by the state of the social protection of the family, women, and protection of mother and child, a reduction in infant mortality, an improvement in the conditions for raising children, and a surmounting of the shortages in children's commodities.

The Communist Party of Belorussia will participate most actively in the formulation of an official youth policy and prescriptive enactments creating equal starting opportunities for the youth and sure prospects of the professional, political, and cultural growth of the young men and women.

2. Culture, Education and Science

The Communist Party of Belorussia considers a priority area of its activity the development of culture, education and science and advocates the further democratization and renewal of cultural policy and the creation of the legal and socioeconomic guarantees of development in this sphere of social life. It will contribute actively to the working people's introduction to spiritual values, the all-around revelation of talent, the encouragement of freedom of creativity, the extensive use in people's education of the cultural heritage, the creation of an

integral system of aesthetic education and the aesthetization of man's environment and the extensive development of international cultural relations.

While confirming its world-outlook positions and the right to conduct propaganda of scientific-materialist knowledge, the republic Communist Party supports the principle of freedom of worship and religious belief and the charitable and peacemaking activity of the church and its efforts aimed at overcoming the phenomena of aspirotuality, a strengthening of morality, and the struggle for peace.

The party is opposed to the general transfer of culture, art, and education to a commercial basis.

The Communist Party of Belorussia will strive for:

an increase in spending on education, culture, and science to the level of the world's developed countries;

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the elaboration and implementation of a concept of the national school oriented toward the world level and taking account of the historical and cultural traditions of the Belorussian people and their spiritual and moral experience, and the specifics of the national composition and socioeconomic development of the republic; the humanization, democratization, and multivariant nature of teaching and education and the creation of equal opportunities for each inhabitant of Belorussia in acquiring an education;

an enhancement of the social status, authority, and prestige of teachers, educators at preschool establishments, and all people working in public education and an improvement in their material provision and work, social, and recreational conditions;

a radical transformation of the higher and secondary specialized school, a broadening of its independence, reequipment of the physical plant, and a cardinal improvement in the quality of the training of specialists; an enhancement of the efficiency and prestige of research work, the creation of a physical base of science corresponding to the world standard, an increase in the social protection of scientists, the integration of academy, higher educational institution, and sectoral science, the preferential development of basic research, an expansion of the international cooperation of Belorussia's scientists and the development of libraries, archives, and information technology.

The Communist Party of Belorussia will together with the artistic unions, research organizations, cultural establishments, educational institutions, and amateur voluntary associations work actively on realization of the official program of the development of Belorussian and other national languages in the Belorussian SSR.

V. For an Efficient Economy

1. Economic Independence of the Republic

The Communist Party of Belorussia considers a most important task the creation of a highly efficient and

flexible economy responsive to scientific and technological progress and oriented toward complete satisfaction of the material and social requirements of the republic population.

It advocates:

the Belorussian people's ownership of the land and its interior, internal resources, flora and fauna and other natural resources, and also enterprises, associations, organizations, and establishments of the production and social spheres operating and newly created on republic territory;

the right to independently adopt decisions regulating socioeconomic relations, the economic mechanism, the organizational structure of management, investment policy, the location of the productive forces and facilities of the social infrastructure, and the solution of other questions connected with the present and future economy of the republic;

an independent flexible financial and credit and tax policy geared to a rise in the population's living standard, the accelerated development of the republic and its oblasts, cities, and rayons, dependable financial support for local self-government, introduction of the achievements of scientific and technological progress, and environmental protection measures;

the voluntary transfer to the jurisdiction of the Union organs of state power and administration and to the sphere of joint jurisdiction only of the questions of economic and social and cultural building which affect the common interests of the peoples of our country;

implementation of radical economic reform on the principles of self-management, economic independence, and the sovereignty of the soviets;

direct economic and cultural relations with the Union republics and the conclusion of the bilateral and multilateral agreements necessary for this and not conflicting with the interests of the country and other Union republics;

the establishment of relations with foreign states and participation in foreign economic relations and the activity of international organizations.

2. Structural Reorganization of the Economy

The Communist Party of Belorussia deems necessary the accomplishment of a structural reorganization of the economy aimed at:

the reorientation of production toward the maximum saturation of the consumer market and the active enlistment of enterprises and organizations of the defense sectors of industry in the manufacture of technically intricate social and cultural products, medical equipment, and equipment for sectors of the social sphere;

the intensive development of science, scientific and technological progress, the introduction of resource-saving, ecologically safe, and waste-free industries, and the continuous modernization of industry and construction industry;

the development of small businesses and organizations, cooperatives, tenant outfits in industry, construction, and services, the creation of peasant, tenant, and subsidiary farms, agro-industrial association, agro-firms, agro-works, and other production formations making it possible to eliminate the current monopoly structures and ensure the competitiveness and healthy competition of the commodity producers and their complete economic independence.

3. The Market Economy

The Communist Party of Belorussia advocates the staged transition to controlled market relations, given the adoption of measures and safeguards pertaining to the social protection of the population. It will contribute to:

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the formation and development of various types of ownership and entrepreneurial activity precluding all forms of exploitation, given the decisive role of collective ownership as the basis of the socialist essence of Soviet society; the creation of equal economic conditions of the management of state-owned, joint-stock, cooperative, and other enterprises;

producers being accorded extensive rights in the unrestricted sale of products and services on the basis of contractual relations with the consumers;

the optimum combination of market and state mechanisms of the control of economic activity based on a restructuring of planning, tax and credit and finance policy, monetary circulation, material and technical supply, and foreign economic activity;

a flexible pricing policy and the creation of a mechanism of compensation for individuals' losses in connection with the revision of retail prices and a system of indexation of the monetary income of inhabitants of Belorussia depending on the growth of consumer prices; the economic stimulation of productive and high-quality labor and a strengthening of order and discipline at work thanks to an increase in man's economic interest in the achievement of high results;

the implementation of measures to prevent a recession, particularly in the sectors determining technical progress, to increase the manufacture of consumer goods, food, and services, and to strengthen the domestic commodity market by way of the redistribution of supplies of essential commodities intended for centrally allocated requirements and for export.

4. Agrarian Policy

The Communist Party of Belorussia considers the main directions of agrarian policy:

a fundamental improvement in the position of the peasantry and its confirmation as the genuine owner of the land and the results of its labor;

the creation of equal economic conditions for all forms of management in the countryside: collective and state

farms, agro-industrial combines, agro-firms, agro-works, cooperatives, agro-industrial associations, and peasant and subsidiary farms;

a consistent reinforcement of the material and technical facilities of agricultural production and the processing sectors and the extensive application of the achievements of science and progressive experience and resource-saving and waste-free technology;

the creation in the countryside of a highly developed social infrastructure, an increase in the extent of housing construction, the granting of each rural family an opportunity to own a separate well-appointed apartment or home, and a significant extension of the network of paved roads;

increased assistance to rural inhabitants in the management of private plots and the development of subsidiary works and crafts for expanding the sphere of employment in rural localities;

provision of the republic with ecologically clean foodstuffs, unification of the efforts of town and country in the accomplishment of food tasks, and the achievement of equivalence in economic relations between them.

5. Ecological Policy

Sharing with the entire Belorussian people the grave consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe, Belorussia's communists realize that arduous work has to be done to resettle people, improve the environment, and preserve the health of inhabitants of the republic.

Attaching exceptional significance to the solution of ecological problems in the interests of the present and future generations, the Communist Party of Belorussia will seek:

unconditional fulfillment of the official program to eliminate in the republic the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, and extensive notification of the work being done and of the radiation situation in places of people's residence and activity;

the organization of international cooperation for the elimination of the consequences of the accident and the recuperation of the population of the republic;

full compensation by the state for the losses and costs incurred by people living in the contaminated areas and being moved to a new place of residence;

the exercise of open public control over the expenditure of monies and material resources geared to elimination of the consequences of the accident;

the solution of other questions of the political, economic, and social life of the republic only with regard for the fact that it is a national ecological disaster zone;

the adoption of urgent measures to improve the ecological situation in the cities of Mogilev, Novopolotsk, Gomel, Grodno, Bobruysk, Soligorsk, Svetlogorsk, Minsk, and other localities;

an improvement in the economic mechanism of the use of nature based on the introduction of a charge for the use of natural resources and environmental pollution;

the creation in the republic of ecologically safe agricultural production and the rational use of natural resources;

a halt to the discharge of unpurified industrial effluent into water-storage basins, a reduction in the release into the atmosphere of harmful substances, and the transfer of the republic's industry to ecologically clean technology;

the open discussion of programs and plans for the construction in the republic of large-scale industrial facilities affecting the fundamental interests of the population and influencing the environment, independent ecological expert appraisal, and effective supervision of the ecological situation.

The Communist Party of Belorussia will cooperate with all public movements and organizations making a specific contribution to the protection and recovery of the environment and the creation of an ecologically clean Belorussia.

The Communist Party of Belorussia appeals to all citizens of the republic who aspire to live in a democratic, humane socialist society to support the Communist Party of Belorussia Program and its entire activity for the good of the Belorussian people in the name of the future of Soviet Belorussia within a Union of sovereign socialist states.

Dementey Discusses Belorussian Constitution

91UN0288A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA
in Russian 2 Nov 90 p 1

[Speech by N.I. Dementey, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, chairman of the Constitutional Commission, at the extraordinary session of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet: "Society and State"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] people's deputies!

It is possible to move forward successfully with an objective, strictly scientific evaluation of the path that has been traveled, an in-depth analysis of the republic's existing constitution, and a reinterpretation of previous views and developments of legislative acts.

It is especially important to get away from the abstract approach to the interpretation of principles and norms of the constitution and its role in the state-legal and all other public life of the republic. Otherwise, there will inevitably be a divergence between word and deed, and the declaration of the principles of the theory will not coincide with the real social processes.

What kind of constitution should we have? Not only the formal, but—the main thing—the substantive characteristics of the future Basic Law will depend on the answer to this question.

There is no doubt that the constitution must not be above the realities of daily life. It would be wrong to rely only on the text of the Basic Law, even the most

democratic one. For in addition to articles of the constitution, there are also state organs that implement them and social organizations that participate in one way or another in the life of the republic; there is the real policy that is implemented by the republic leadership; and, finally, there are the political and legal standards of the citizens.

By now we have already basically determined the initial points of the future republic constitution. We intend to embody in it the principles of the priority of individual over the interests of the state, to refrain from the excessive politicization of society, to establish socioeconomic and political foundations of popular rule, and to reinforce the high status of the soviets of people's deputies, the inalienable rights of man, and the security and legal protection of the individual.

It would be wrong to assume that the preparation of the new constitution amounts to the development of individual articles and chapters, which will then only have to be put together into a single document.

In our work on the draft constitution, we have striven to make sure that it embodies the value concept and that the most diverse aspects of the republic's development are coordinated. Thus the new constitution will be an important and effective factor in the renewal of society and will strengthen at a high legislative level not only its initial positions, but also the major perspectives and parameters for development.

When preparing the republic constitution, we must proceed from the main principles of the Declaration of Sovereignty of the Belorussian SSR adopted by the republic Supreme Soviet on 27 July 1990, the Universal Human Rights Declaration adopted by the UN General Assembly on 10 December 1948, and other generally recognized international documents.

Addressing the lessons of our own constitutional development when drawing up the constitution, at the same time we are paying attention to the multifaceted experience of state-legal construction in other countries.

We shall have not only to prepare the constitution, but also to establish a tradition of profound respect for it, both on the part of our own citizens and the citizens of other states. The constitution must become the legal basis for all republic legislation. Therefore, it is proposed to base the development of the new constitution on the following conceptual approach:

1. Recognition of the republic as a sovereign state and an independent subject of international law and the supremacy of the laws of the republic on its own territory.
2. The creation of a humane society and the assurance of the inalienable democratic rights for each individual. The constitution should serve as the basis for a social contract between the individual, the society, and the state.

3. Prevention of a monopoly on power in the republic and consistent implementation of the principle of separation of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers.
4. The creation of legal guarantees of equal rights and a diversity of forms of ownership, and also freedom of entrepreneurial activity.

Relations among the citizen, the society, and the state should be at the center of the attention of the new constitution. The human being is the measure of all social values. He must be provided with economic and political freedoms, peace and security, an adequate existence, a real opportunity to participate in the conduct of affairs of the society and state, and access to the rich national and world culture.

Comrade deputies!

You will recall that at the first session of the republic Supreme Soviet of the 12th Convocation, a constitutional commission consisting of 74 people was formed. In addition to people's deputies, the commission included scholars—leading specialists of various branches of law.

At the first organizational meeting of the commission two groups (subcommissions) were formed, which were headed by Belorussian SSR people's deputies Comrades V.I. Sholodonov and V.I. Gonchar. Both work groups plan to prepare variants of the draft constitution and have already developed overall principles of its structure.

In the groups (subdivisions) they have distributed the duties among members of the commission and created temporary creative collectives for developing individual sections (chapters) of the draft constitution.

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Currently the work groups have completed some work on the main sections of the draft constitution. During the work process, commission members traveled around to study the work experience of similar commissions in the Baltic republics and became familiar with the work of the constitutional commission of the Russian Federation.

Leaders of the temporary creative collectives (groups) report on the course of the preparation of the drafts of sections of the constitution at regular meetings of the subcommissions.

Speeches and discussions at the meetings are creative and concrete, and they are concentrated on documents prepared beforehand and distributed to members of the Constitutional Commission.

Comrade deputies!

We have information from the constitutional commission on the course of preparation of the draft constitution (basic law) of the Belorussian SSR that gives the structure of the two variants of the draft constitution being prepared by the work groups of Comrades V.I.

Sholodonov and V.I. Gonchar, which enables me to discuss this issue in greater detail.

Now, after two months of work on the draft of the new Belorussian SSR constitution, one can say with complete certainty: We have come very close to determining the approaches to the new constitution.

In the rest of this year the constitutional commission will begin to solve the following two closely interconnected problems.

First, it will prepare the text itself for the draft of the new constitution.

Second, it will spare no effort to clarify our vision of the structure, principles, and content of the constitution, preparing public awareness and society itself for the final stage of our work and the adoption of the new basic law of the republic.

Summing up the result, one should note that the commission has done a certain amount of work in preparing materials for the new republic constitution. But the material-technical, organizational, and information support for the commission's activity requires additional resources and improvement of labor organization. In order to provide for effective work of the commission, it is necessary to solve the problems of creating a permanent work group out of members of the commission, releasing the members of the work group completely or partially from the performance of their production or office duties for the time of the work of the commission for preparing the new text of the constitution, and allotting financial funds for enlisting highly qualified specialists and experts to work on the draft constitution. We should envision the possibility of conducting expert evaluations and consultations with the corresponding payment. We must immediately solve the problem of satisfying the commission's needs for computer equipment.

In this connection, I wish to draw your attention to the draft decree of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet "On the Procedure for the Activity of the Constitutional Commission for Preparing the Draft of the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Belorussian SSR" that we must discuss and adopt in order to accelerate the work for preparing the basic law of the republic.

In concluding my statement, I wish to emphasize once again that the constitutional commission is faced with a large and intellectually labor-intensive task. And I am expressing my hope that the people's deputies will support these proposals in order to achieve the goal that has been set for development of the new Belorussian SSR constitution.

Belorussian Government, Trade Unions Hold Talks

LD2111101290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1645 GMT 20 Nov 90

[By TASS correspondents Vladimir Bogdanov and Valentina Menshikova]

[Text] Minsk, 20 Nov (TASS)—Members of the Belorussian Government and trade union activists who had invited them to a dialogue have met face-to-face for the first time in years. At its recent congress, the Trade Union Federation voiced substantial social demands, addressed to the republic's Council of Ministers, such as a price freeze on basic foods and consumer goods, employment guarantees, and an increase in capital investment in public education, health care, construction, and culture. Now Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich has observed that the trade union and government positions on a wide range of socioeconomic problems have drawn substantially closer.

Although Belorussia remains one of the most stable republics in the country, the forecast budget deficit next year will amount to about 11 billion rubles. In such circumstances, it is extremely hard to develop social programs, the Council of Ministers chairman noted.

The government has drawn up a series of measures that must provide the resources needed to satisfy the demands of the trade unions. If these proposals are approved at the latest session of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet, all 100 percent of the turnover tax and 40 percent of the depreciation allowance of all enterprises, including those subject to union jurisdiction, will go into the republic's budget in 1991. Tax on profits will increase to 55 percent and it will probably be necessary to introduce a one-time "Chernobyl" tax.

These resources will be used primarily for the social protection of low-income citizens. The minimum wage will be brought up to 125 rubles—the acknowledged headline. The salaries of teachers, medical staff, and cultural workers will increase to the republic's average. The trade unions retain the exclusive right to conclude collective agreements with the administration.

Moldova

Akhromeyev Describes Central Policy on Moldova

91UN0369C Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Nov 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by L. Bakal and A. Kvasnikov on interview with Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, adviser to the president of the USSR and USSR people's deputy, in Tiraspol; date not given; published under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Interview with S. Akhromeyev for the Newspaper DIALOG"]

[Text] Yesterday TASS and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondents sent from Tiraspol an interview with S. Akhromeyev for the newspaper DIALOG.

Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, adviser to the president of the USSR and USSR people's deputy, is in Tiraspol. In an interview for the city newspaper DIALOG he explained the goal of his trip:

"The sociopolitical situation in Moldova has reached that dangerous and extreme point beyond which it may lead to tragedy. Therefore the main goal of my trip here at the commission of the president of the USSR is to try, together with the republic's legislature and the leadership of the Dnestr region, to stabilize the situation somewhat in the interests of continuing the search for paths to agreement and peace. For this—and the president especially stressed this condition—all the laws, edicts, decrees, and rulings that are adding to the tension which are being issued by both sides must be frozen.

"They tell me today that the People's Front is aggravating the situation in the republic. I agree. I believe that the creation of a national guard contradicts the agreement that has been achieved and is inadmissible. At the same time I cannot help but express my opinion to the effect that even the arguments of the 'opponents' are not always within the bounds of reasonable sufficiency. The elections in the Dnestr region on 25 November are bringing the situation to an extremely dangerous limit.

S.F. Akhromeyev said further: At this point I can only state what the president sent me here with. M.S. Gorbachev and A.I. Lukyanov gave me instructions to acquaint the leaders and the people of Moldova with the following proposals:

"To declare in Kishinev and Tiraspol on the very same day:

1. A freeze on elections of deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Pridnestr [Pridnestrovskiy] Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR].

2. For the Moldovan SSR Supreme Soviet to officially distance itself from unfounded statements about leaving the Soviet Union and about uniting Moldova with Romania, inasmuch as these statements contradict the Declaration of Sovereignty of the Moldovan SSR. To state that the Moldovan SSR will participate in working out a Union treaty with the central organs of power in Moscow.

3. After these statements, to continue the work of the conciliation commission."

S.F. Akhromeyev noted: We have begun a colossal reorganization of the country and we have started down the path of the creation of a Union of sovereign states that are independent in political and economic relations, a path that no one in the world has traveled before us. Naturally—and here I agree completely with the president—we do not wish to create such a Union by any other means than those that are peaceful and voluntary.

The situation is such that, instead of creation, some are more interested in and concerned with destruction that is sometimes senseless and merciless. An end must be put to such moods and—most importantly—to such actions. Here I can suggest that the president of the country is determined to begin implementing a new policy. I would call it more adequate for the realities that exist today."

Steps Toward Baltic-Black Sea Union Hit

91UN0471A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 12 Dec 90 Single Edition p 5

[Article by BelTA-TASS correspondent A. Kryzhavovskiy: "A Meeting of the Deputies of the Opposition: Concerning a Baltic-Black Sea Union Again"]

[Text] Minsk—"Attention; the Fatherland is in danger! An appeal to the citizens of Belorussia. Dear countrymen! Our republic is threatened with being divided up into 'appanage principalities.' Here in Minsk an agreement is being prepared behind our backs and in our names by opposition deputies of the supreme soviets of the Ukraine, Belorussia, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania concerning the creation of a so-called political Baltic-Black Sea union."

That is the beginning of a leaflet that many residents of Minsk found in their mail boxes on the day of the publication of the draft of the new Union treaty. The authors of the leaflet, which was signed "The Union To Save the Fatherland," went on to warn that "The plan to conclude a new voluntary union and find a way out of the crisis amounts to a knife in the back"...

Journalists were not allowed at the meeting itself and only managed to discover what had transpired at a concluding news conferences.

S. Naumchik, member of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet commission on questions of glasnost, the mass media, and human rights, called that event "a meeting of groups of deputies from the supreme soviets of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia on questions of political, economic, and cultural ties between the republics." He did note that the Estonians had communicated with the main participants using a fax machine. He added that the Baltic republics are being represented by envoys of the legislative majority, while the Ukraine and Belorussia are being represented by the opposition.

A joint statement signed by the leaders of the groups of deputies says that the meeting reviewed the possibility of a political, economic, and humanitarian association of the Baltic countries, Belorussia, and the Ukraine. Noting the "hopelessness of the further existence of the USSR" and the "vital need for political stability in the Baltic-Black Sea region in the face of the collapse of the

imperial structure," the delegation declares "the advisability of an association of the states of this region on the basis of recognition of the sovereignty of each of the participants."

Three resolutions were adopted. They concerned economic and humanitarian cooperation and the creation of national armed forces of the states of the Baltic-Black Sea region.

At a concluding news conference, Z. Poznyak, leader of the Belorussian delegation, member of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet commission on legislation, and chairman of the general assembly of the Belorussian People's Front, gave his point of view on the subject. In particular, he noted that the states belonging to the Baltic-Black Sea union "have a historical and geopolitical territory." The grand principality of Lithuania, which existed many hundreds of years ago, stressed the head of the people's front, "halted the Mongol-Tatar invasion and saved Europe from great misfortune." While it existed, said Z. Poznyak, "the question of the development of the Golden Horde and the Moscow empire was problematic." The deputy spoke in favor of the creation of joint "antiblockade funds" with the Baltic republics and the Ukraine. The goal of these funds, in his opinion, is to "insure oneself" against possible pressure on the part of the USSR and Russia.

V. Cepaitis, chairman of the legislative delegation from Lithuania, head of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet commission for civil rights and ethnic questions, and chairman of the party of national independence of the republic, expressed himself even more candidly. It seems he proposed beforehand that "in the game Russia and the Union are playing, our meeting probably does not please B. Yeltsin any more than M. Gorbachev, because Russia's plans may include the creation of a new Union around itself of the three Slavic republics." Russia, he said, "is too large a body—those who unite with it cannot exist comfortably alongside it...."

V. Cepaitis noted the economic "pluses" of the creation of the Black Sea union—"antiblockade insurance funds" and even a common market. He stated that despite the scarcity of energy reserves of "the countries of the Black Sea union," thanks to the presence of highly qualified labor forces in this region, it will be possible to lead their peoples to prosperity quickly if, of course, the West will share modern technologies. This, he said, is possible inasmuch as it is already understood over there that the same thing will happen to Gorbachev's billions in credits that happened in Poland to the loans in the times of Giersek—they will go down the drain.

Is it worth commenting on such statements? Perhaps the creation of a coalition is a stake in the game against the Union and Russia for V. Cepaitis. As for "antiblockade funds," this is undoubtedly nothing more than an attempt to insure himself most of all, inasmuch as Belorussia and the Ukraine have not declared secession from the Union.

In principle everything is understood. One thing is unclear—why should specifically a Black Sea union be a panacea for everybody's problems today? How will the proposed coalition help end the economic and political chaos? So far as one may judge from the statement and the three resolutions, there are no serious, reassuring answers.

"I believe that there will be many more weighty arguments in defense of the Union treaty," said S. Shushkevich, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet, about this meeting.

Moldova Adopts Amendment on Coat of Arms

91UN0387B Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA
in Russian 7 Nov 90 p 1

[Decree signed by A. Moshanu, chairman of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) Supreme Soviet in Kishinev on 3 November: "Law of the Moldovan SSR: On the Introduction of Amendments to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Moldovan SSR"]

[Text] The Moldovan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet decrees:

To introduce the following amendments to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Moldovan SSR:

To word Article 167 as follows:

"Article 167. The state Coat-of-Arms of the Moldovan SSR is a shield intersected horizontally—the upper half is a red field and the bottom half is blue. At the center of the shield there is depicted the head of an aurochs, between whose horns there is an eight-pointed star; to the right of the head there is a five-petaled rose and to the left—a half-moon which is facing and slightly inclined to the right. All of the elements on the shield are golden (yellow). The shield is situated on the breast of an eagle, which is depicted at its natural size and is holding in its beak a golden cross (the eagle is a cross-bearer), in its right claw—a green olive branch, and in its left claw—a golden scepter."

[Signed] A. Moshanu, chairman of the Moldovan SSR Supreme Soviet
Kishinev, 3 November 1990.

Moldovan Paper Resumes Publication

91UN0386A Kishinev MOLODEZH MOLDOVY in
Russian 13 Nov 90 p 1

[Answers to readers' questions by an unnamed MOLODEZH MOLDOVY commentator: "...As Long as the Candle Is Lit"]

[Text] [Readers] Will MOLODEZH MOLDAVII be published in 1991?

[MOLODEZH MOLDOVY] Yes. The same collective with the same resources will produce MOLODEZH

MOLDOVY; as the management of the Main Administration for Press Dissemination agency assures us, subscriptions to it are being sold again. We hope that the MOLODEZH MOLDOVY monogram that you have grown so accustomed to will continue to conjure up courage and consistence in political and polemical judgments in the coming year as well.

[Readers] Is this to say that you have been registered? What is your status?

[MOLODEZH MOLDOVY] MOLODEZH MOLDOVY is a sociopolitical newspaper set up by two coequal founders: the editorial collective and the LKSMM [Moldova Leninist Communist Youth League] Central Committee. Fortunately, our apprehensions about the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] giving up its own newspaper, abandoning it without money, editorial offices, and newsprint have not been borne out so far. However, everything may still change at the forthcoming second stage of the LKSMM Congress. The situation of the Komsomol in the republic is too complex; it is close to a stalemate. Such a situation may cause the most varied forms of disorientation, including political, in any person, including delegates to the congress. As you understand, the issue of the existence of MOLODEZH MOLDOVY is not at all of a financial or commercial nature. This is a political issue. Therefore, let us hope that the forthcoming congress will be politically sober-minded.

[Readers] The newspaper was not published for almost two months. Why? (Such questions are found mainly in letters from our readers in other cities who sometimes mistake what has happened for yet another "prank" of postal services.)

[MOLODEZH MOLDOVY] Information about our strike and a fire in the editorial office received considerable exposure. Unfortunately, we witnessed once again how subjective the genre of information is. At times, our colleagues made certain mistakes. Perhaps these mistakes appeared to them to be inaccuracies that were not particularly significant. Our opinion is different. The point is that everything that happened to MOLODEZH MOLDOVY is a case unprecedented, not only in the Soviet Union but also in world journalism (if we leave out the 1930's in Germany and the 1970's in Chile).

On 18 September, a meeting with readers was held at the editorial office (as the government agency MOLDOVA PRES maintains). During this "meeting with the 'readers'" [as published], seven hostages—editorial employees and even free-lance authors—were seized. The threat to their lives was so real that the executive secretary of our editorial board had to agree to a TV recording of a so-called statement in which he declared that the publication of the newspaper would cease.

On the following day (incidentally, when it turned out that at night the editorial office had been visited by "guests" who had tried to crack safes and had stolen several documents), the editorial office went on strike.

The demands of the collective involved ensuring the constitutional right to freedom of the press. They also touched on the not yet signed agreement between M. Snegur and B. Yeltsin: Editorial employees proposed to include a point in the text of the agreement that would guarantee the freedom of political expression by all citizens of the Republic, including by means of an independent and oppositional press.

Alas, the bureaucratic machine did not manage to digest this document and chose to simply ignore it.

The events developed further in such a manner that we unwillingly recalled a poor detective story. It is enough to complement what has already been told with a story about the very strange events of 17 October, when a decision to prepare yet another issue of the newspaper was made at a meeting of the collective around 1200 hours. We notified several people of our possible publication...at 2040 hours, fire engulfed editorial offices. Total losses sustained by the editorial office go into tens of thousands of rubles....

We could have reassured ourselves by references to electric wiring or globe lightning that happened unexpectedly, had it not been for one unexplainable fact. A copy of one of the documents "with a great explosive punch," that had been stolen from the office of the editor a month earlier, disappeared from the desk of the chief of the political department. At the same time, a notebook of one of the correspondents disappeared, and the room of the political departments was burned to the ground....

As you can see, we only managed to resume the publication of our newspaper one month later. Incidentally, you may have difficulty imagining how we work—the entire editorial office is "concentrated" in one room.

[Readers] Have these events affected your political line?

[MOLODEZH MOLDOVY] Of course. We have not been disappointed in what is happening around us. It is just that we got an opportunity to appreciate what glasnost and democracy are worth at present. Having appreciated this, we understood certain things, and now we are going to refer to these certain things by their proper name. Previously, we were somewhat embarrassed by this word ending in "...ism."

[Readers] Have there been changes in your collective? Rumors are circulating to the effect that the chief editor has resigned, and the collective has fallen apart....

[MOLODEZH MOLDOVY] We will advise our colleagues from MOLDOVA SUVERANA who disseminated a canard about A. Marchkov being "appointed" editor of the Rybnitsa NOVOSTI (as early as August!) to be a little bit less hasty. We are not going to give any other advice because this will not help anyhow. Four people have left the collective. I am not going to name them; after all, who to be with is a personal decision that everyone makes.

Therefore, "rumors about our death" have been exaggerated. However, this most likely concerns our **spiritual** life.

[Readers] The last question. Are you afraid?

[MOLODEZH MOLDOVY] We are. This is exactly why we are publishing.

To Publish Divergent Views

91P50061

[Editorial Report] Beginning with its 27 November 1990 issue, MOLODEZH MOLDOVY in Russian, according to its masthead "a sociopolitical newspaper" published in Kishinev "since October 1940," initiated a new policy in its page three column "Voices," which previously published only articles from the foreign media.

An inset accompanying the column on 27 November provided the following explanation: "Today (and we intend for this to become a tradition) we are attempting to expand the spectrum of divergent thinking under our rubric ['Voices']. We propose that the readers become familiar with the opinion of those publications which are issued here, in the Union, but which fall outside the scope of, let us say, the official press.

"We hope that it will be interesting for you, dear readers, to learn how the people 'on the other side' judge us, themselves, and the future of their country."

The first "Voices" column under the new policy is composed of two articles: "Is the Soviet Union Ceasing to Exist?" by Z. Brzezinski from the WORLD MONITOR and an excerpted article "Crisis of Power—Crisis of the Economy" from NARODNAYA VOLYA and the independent "Siberia-Tomsk" Information Agency (no additional data provided).

Sociopolitical Situation Reportedly Worsens

PM3011114290 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 24 Nov 90 First Edition p 5

[Report by correspondents Colonel G. Miranovich, Colonel N. Mulyar: "The Acrid Smoke of Bonfires"]

[Text] The sociopolitical situation in Moldova has worsened again in the last few days. There are signs of this everywhere: Placards on the Left Bank of the Dnestr urging people to take part in the elections, placards on the Right Bank urging people to boycott the elections, and concern written all over people's faces. Traveling over the bridge which joins the two banks of the river late one evening, we saw bonfires by which people were warming themselves. This scene was repeated further on. We stopped by one of the bonfires as we were coming out of Tiraspol.

"We are having to do guard duty," I. Surdu, leader of a group of workers from the local cotton combine, said. "Recent events in Kishinev, when a group of thugs beat

up non-Moldovans and ransacked their apartments, have put us on our guard...."

There were people of various nationalities standing around the bonfire: Russians, Ukrainians, and Moldovans. We understood from our brief conversation with them that they were united by a common concern: What did the future hold? We had also seen this question in the eyes of many of the people we had met the day before in military units and labor collectives in the republic.

Yes, young men in this area of the Dnestr region are certainly not taking up their posts by the roadside because all is well. Since the events in Kishinev mentioned above, something akin to a state of emergency has been introduced here: Extra measures are being taken to safeguard people's lives and ensure their safety.

Measures are also being taken in connection with the deteriorating crime situation in the Moldovan capital. Kishinev enterprises are forming their own worker detachments to assist the militia, which will come under the jurisdiction of rayon soviet executive committees. The question of forming six municipal police battalions is being discussed. Bars, restaurants, and discotheques are being specially monitored by bodies responsible for protecting public order.

At the same time, there is a detail we must point out: Once again, some people are trying to blame the Soviet Army for the unrest in the republic (according to official information, 121 crimes were committed in Moldova in the last 24 hours). In particular, addressing a joint session of the Kishinev Municipal Council Presidium and Executive Committee, Militia Lieutenant Colonel S. Vyrlan, acting chief of the city's internal affairs administration, suggested that deserters from the Soviet Army have been the main culprits in the mass riots in the capital. The militia lieutenant colonel "backed up" his conclusion by saying that many of the youths taking part in the outrages wore army jackets and pants....

The recent exacerbation of the situation in Moldova is also largely the result of the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the newly declared Dnestr Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, which, as is well known, are scheduled for 25 November. B. Oleynik, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has come to Moldova for precisely this reason. Also here, on instructions from the USSR president, is Marshal of the Soviet Union S. Akhromeyev, a USSR people's deputy from Moldova. He has met the public in Dubossary, Tiraspol, Bendery, and other population centers and visited a number of labor collectives. In his speeches to the public, he has informed people of the proposals approved by USSR President M. Gorbachev and USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman A. Lukyanov on stabilizing the situation in Moldova.

It must be said that these proposals have met with a mixed reaction in the Dnestr Republic. Addressing a meeting with the marshal in Bendery, for example, electric welder Rakov, Pasenko, chairman of the council of former inmates of fascist concentration camps, and

City Soviet Deputy Levitskiy spoke out in favor of holding the elections. But the chairman of the Afanasyev City Women's Council said that the elections should be postponed for a while, or, in other words, that Akhromeyev's proposals should be supported.

The intense emotions connected with the elections have put some military servicemen in a difficult position. In addition to the fact that many of them are suffering hardship in social respects, because of illegal decisions adopted by the Moldovan legislature—in the Tiraspol Garrison alone, more than 1,000 families of officers and warrant officers have nowhere to live—people in army uniform have recently had to endure moral pressure as well. According to Lieutenant Colonel V. Donsul, Ungeny City Soviet people's deputy and commander of an antitank division, I. Russu, deputy chairman of the city soviet executive committee, said in a conversation with him that if members of the military take part in the elections, the garrison at Ungeny will be taken hostage and no problem connected with social needs will be resolved.

So that is how it is. We were told by Major General V. Zolotukhin that no agitation work connected with the elections is being carried out in military units stationed in the territory of the Left Bank. No polling stations have been set up. As far as the officers, warrant officers, and members of their families are concerned, it is a voluntary matter and each must decide for himself how to act.

As we left, we saw them bring down the road barrier behind us. At the time appointed by the local authorities the sentries began searching all vehicles. Bonfires were still burning along the roadside. How much longer must these bonfires of dissension burn?

Journalists Protest Minister's Accusations

LD2011205890 Moscow TASS in English 1755 GMT
20 Nov 90

[Text] Kishinev November 20 TASS—Correspondents of central newspapers, united in the SOBKOR Journalists Association, today published a statement in the SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA newspaper, protesting against accusations by the republican Interior Ministry leadership.

On Monday, Moldavian Interior Minister Ion Kostash told the republican parliament that central mass media, including the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper, TASS and Soviet television, and the SOVETSKAYA MOLDOVA newspaper were to blame for stirring up interethnic hatred in the region. Earlier, he accused correspondents in a televised interview.

The association notes that such groundless accusations are another attempt to make the press keep silent, although it is journalists' duty and profession to inform society of events in the world, no matter if the local authorities like it or not," the statement reads.

Republican officials often do not like it, but it is necessary to search for the roots of conflicts in the situation in Moldova, rather than in the coverage of events in the press, the statement reads.

Ukraine

Treaty Between RSFSR, Ukrainian SSR

91UN0393A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY
in Russian 21 Nov 90 p 1

[Treaty signed for the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) by L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, and for the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) by B. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet; in Kiev on 19 November: "Treaty Between the Ukrainian SSR and the RSFSR"]

[Text] The Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], which are henceforth named the High Contracting Parties,

- proceeding from the Declaration on State Sovereignty of the Ukraine of 16 July 1990 and the Declaration on State Sovereignty of the RSFSR of 12 July 1990,
- attempting to build the democratic rule-of-law states of the Ukraine and Russia,
- intending to build interstate relations on the basis of the principles of sovereign equality, noninterference in internal affairs, refusal to apply force or economic methods of pressure, settlement of disputes using means of conciliation, and other universally acknowledged principles and norms of international law,
- believing that further development and consolidation of relations of friendship, neighborliness, and mutually profitable cooperation between them answer the fundamental national interests of the people of both states and serve the cause of peace and security,
- being guided by the desire to achieve the collaboration of sovereign states,
- affirming their adherence to the goals and principles of the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act and other documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe,
- and committing themselves to observe universally acknowledged international norms on the rights of man and peoples,
- have agreed to the following:

Article 1. The High Contracting Parties recognize one another as sovereign states and obligate themselves to refrain from actions which may inflict damage to the state sovereignty of the other Party.

Article 2. The High Contracting Parties guarantee their citizens equal rights and freedoms independent of their nationality or other differences.

The High Contracting Parties guarantee citizens of the USSR residing on the territories of the Ukrainian SSR

and the RSFSR, after adoption by the Parties of laws on citizenship, the right to maintain citizenship of that Party on whose territory they reside.

Questions of procuring the citizenship of one of the Parties by persons residing on the territory of the other Party will be regulated by an appropriate agreement with regard to legislation by the Parties on citizenship.

Article 3. Each of the High Contracting Parties guarantees the citizens of the other Party as well as persons without citizenship residing on its territory, independent of their national origin or other differences, civil, political, social, economic, and cultural rights and freedoms in accordance with universally acknowledged international norms on human rights.

Each of the High Contracting Parties defends the rights of its citizens residing on the territory of the other Party and renders them comprehensive aid and support in accordance with universally acknowledged norms of international law.

Article 4. The High Contracting Parties, wishing to contribute to the expression, preservation, and development of the ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious characteristics of the national minorities residing on their territories and of existing unique ethnic and cultural regions, takes such entities under their protection.

Article 5. The High Contracting Parties will develop equal and mutually profitable cooperation between their peoples and states in the realm of politics, economics, culture, public health, ecology, science, technology, and trade, and in humanitarian and other realms, they will contribute to a broad exchange of information, and they will conscientiously and rigorously observe mutual obligations.

Article 6. The High Contracting Parties acknowledge and respect the territorial integrity of the Ukrainian SSR and the RSFSR inside the borders presently existing within the framework of the USSR.

Article 7. The High Contracting Parties acknowledge the need for a system of collective security, including the cooperation of both states in the realm of defense and security with regard to the wish of both Parties for further consolidation of peace.

Article 8. The High Contracting Parties acknowledge that the following pertain to the sphere of their joint activity, which is realized on an equal basis through the common coordinating institutions of the Parties:

- interaction in foreign policy;
- cooperation in the formation and development of a common economic area and of all-European and Eurasian markets and in the realm of customs policy;
- administration of a system of transportation and communications, including satellite communications and telecommunications;

—cooperation in the realm of preserving the environment on their territories, including measures to minimize the effects of the Chernobyl catastrophe and participation in the creation of an all-embracing international system of ecological security;

—questions of immigration and immigration policy;

—the fight against organized and international crime.

Article 9. The High Contracting Parties acknowledge each other's right to independently determine types and forms of property ownership and to regulate property relations on their own territory.

The legal regimen of state property and of property of the corporate persons and citizens of one Party that exists on the territory of the other Party is regulated by the appropriate agreements.

The High Contracting Parties agree that all questions regarding facilities which qualify as all-Union property will be regulated by special agreements based on legislative acts of the Parties concerning the protection of the economic foundations of sovereignty.

Article 10. Economic relations of the High Contracting Parties are regulated by agreements that grant most-favored-nation status. The Parties provide for the development of economic, trade, scientific, and technical relations on the following levels:

- organs of state power and administration;
- banks and financial systems;
- organs of territory (municipal) self-government;
- enterprises, associations, organizations, and institutions;
- joint Ukrainian-Russian and Russian-Ukrainian enterprises and organizations;
- individual entrepreneurs.

The High Contracting Parties have agreed that specific mechanisms for intereconomic relations, trade exchange, and all types of communications and transportation as well as questions of economic and informational cooperation will be regulated by intergovernmental agreements. The Parties will not apply economic measures that destabilize or damage the other Party in a unilateral fashion.

Article 11. The High Contracting Parties will conclude intergovernmental agreements on mutual deliveries and services, payments, prices, and movement of securities as well as on deadlines for the transition to mutual settlements at world prices. The aforementioned list of agreements is not exhaustive.

The High Contracting Parties obligate themselves to take measures to coordinate pricing policy.

Article 12. The High Contracting Parties provide for cross-border transportation operations via sea, river, and air ports, railways, auto transportation networks, and pipelines located on their territories.

The conditions and procedure for carrying out cross-border transportation operations are determined by special agreements between the Parties.

Article 13. The High Contracting Parties retain the right to conclude additional treaties or agreements on cooperation in all other spheres of interstate relations.

Article 14. The High Contracting Parties consider it advisable to carry out an exchange of authorized representatives.

The procedure for the exchange of representatives and their status will be regulated by special agreements.

Article 15. Disputes with regard to the interpretation and application of norms of this Treaty will be resolved by way of negotiations.

Article 16. This Treaty does not affect the obligations of the High Contracting Parties with relations to third states or the right to conclude treaties with third parties concerning their participation in a sphere of joint activity defined by the Treaty and in a system of collective security.

Article 17. The High Contracting Parties will conduct regular bilateral consultations and negotiations on questions of the execution of this Treaty.

With the goal of implementing this Treaty, the Parties also consider it necessary to create a standing interlegislative commission on cooperation.

Article 18. Each of the High Contracting Parties retains the right to initiate, within the framework of consultations, negotiations on the advisability of continuing the activities of this Treaty or of its individual articles.

The provisions of this Treaty may be supplemented or amended at the mutual agreement of the High Contracting Parties.

Article 19. This Treaty is subject to ratification.

An exchange of ratification certificates will take place in the city of Moscow.

This Treaty goes into effect on the day the ratification certificates are exchanged.

Article 20. This Treaty is concluded for a period of 10 years. It will then automatically continue to remain in effect for the next 10-year period so long as neither of the Parties declares its desire to denounce it by means of a written notification no later than six months before the period of the Treaty expires.

Completed in the city of Kiev on 19 November 1990 in two versions, one each in Ukrainian and Russian; both texts have equal force.

[Signed] For the Ukrainian SSR, L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

For the RSFSR, B. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

Polish-Ukrainian Declaration Published

AU1611095390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA
in Polish 13 Nov 90 p 6

["Declaration of Principles and Basic Directions for the Development of Polish-Ukrainian Relations" signed by Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Anatoliy Zlenko, foreign minister of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in Kiev on 13 October]

[Text] 1. The Polish Republic and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic declare their desire as sovereign states to strengthen their good-neighborly relations and to maintain and develop beneficial cooperation in their own national interests and declare that this is not directed at any third parties. The basis for these relations are the principles of the UN Charter, the CSCE Final Act and subsequent CSCE documents, especially the principles of sovereign equality, integrity of borders, territorial integrity, non-interference in internal matters, and peaceful resolution of disputes. Both countries believe that a comprehensive development of peaceful and neighborly Polish-Ukrainian relations will make a real contribution to the strengthening of regional cooperation and the building of the all-European house.

2. The Polish Republic and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic confirm that in accordance with the principle of each nation's right to self-determination, the Polish and Ukrainian nations have an inalienable right to define their internal and external status in unfettered freedom without outside interference and follow their own political, economic, social, and cultural development.

3. The Polish Republic and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic do not have any territorial claims against each other and will not advance any such claims in future. The existing border between the Polish Republic and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as described in the "Treaty Between Poland and the USSR on the Polish-USSR State Border," dated 16 August 1945, as amended by the "Treaty Between Poland and the USSR on the Exchange of Parts of State Territories," dated 15 February 1951, is regarded by the parties as inviolable now and in future, and the parties consider this to be an important element of peace and stability.

4. The parties exchanged views on the subject of future diplomatic, consular, and trade contacts. As a first step in this process, they agreed to establish consular relations and offices. In the near future the parties intend to continue consultations with a view to establishing full diplomatic relations.

5. The Polish Republic and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic are expressing the will to develop mutually advantageous cooperation in the political, economic, ecological, scientific and technical, media, cultural, and humanitarian spheres, as well as in others. With the objective of strengthening mutual understanding, good relations, and friendship between the

Polish and Ukrainian peoples, the parties will encourage the dissemination of objective information in both societies on the processes taking place in both states.

6. Acknowledging the necessity of fostering trade, economic, and scientific and technical cooperation on the basis of mutual advantages, the Polish Republic and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic have agreed to discuss these problems at inter-governmental level. The parties will encourage the establishment of direct links between Polish and Ukrainian enterprises.

7. The Polish Republic and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic have confirmed that they respect human rights and basic freedoms, including freedom of thought, conscience, for all people regardless of their race, nationality, language, sex, wealth, and creed. The parties stress that respect for human rights and basic freedoms is an important element of peace, security, mutual understanding, and cooperation in a new and democratic Europe.

8. In this context, the parties have declared their commitment to respect and guarantee rights and to improve the situation of national minorities—Polish in the Ukraine and Ukrainian in Poland. They also guarantee these minorities the possibility of fulfilling their cultural, religious, and linguistic needs and also to support the creation of appropriate conditions to enable the maintenance of necessary contacts with Poland and the Ukraine, respectively. The parties are conscious of the fact that these minorities by conserving and developing their national identity will play an essential role in bringing the Polish and Ukrainian nations together. The parties consider that constructive cooperation in the area of the protection of minority rights is an important input to the human aspects of the all-European process.

9. The Polish Republic and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic will broadly develop cultural cooperation. This is particularly significant for the process of mutual understanding between two fraternal nations. The parties will give due emphasis to the protection of Ukrainian historical and cultural monuments in Poland and Polish historical and cultural monuments in the Ukraine. The parties will in future consider the question of opening information and culture centers—a Polish center in Kiev and a Ukrainian center in Warsaw—with the aim of stimulating a mutual exchange of information on scientific and cultural achievements.

10. The Polish Republic and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic recognizing the ethnic and cultural ties of the Polish and Ukrainian nations, and trying to preserve the positive aspects of this heritage from the nations' long historical relations, will assist the broadening of Polish-Ukrainian contacts. The parties will pursue the goal of creating the necessary conditions for direct contacts between social and political organizations, organs of state, local government administration, cultural and scientific centers, artistic and professional centers, as well as other contacts between their respective peoples. Acknowledging the special role of youth in the shaping of relations of mutual understanding and neighborly relations between peoples of states, the parties have agreed that they will prepare an agreement on

cooperation in the sphere of youth exchanges. In order to stimulate cooperation in their border regions, the parties have agreed to take the necessary steps to ensure the normal functioning of border crossing points and to simplify the necessary procedures.

11. The Polish Republic and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic will closely cooperate in the sphere of environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources to ensure mutual ecological protection and prevent pollution which may bring about tragic consequences. The parties agree to inform each other on such matters and to hold consultations from time to time.

12. The Polish Republic and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic welcome the strengthening of trust in Europe and declare their support for the processes that reduce the risk of military confrontation, lead to arms reductions and the total elimination of the danger of war, as well as the threat of force in international relations on the continent.

13. The Ukrainian party made it known that it has taken steps aiming to secure its direct and equal participation in the all-European process and in European structures. Poland declared its readiness to favorably assist the positive resolution of these steps.

14. The parties agreed that they will hold consultations between the respective foreign ministries on all matters that touch their bilateral relations, cooperation on the international arena, especially the all-European process and within UN structures and other international organizations, as well as on international problems which may be of interest to both states.

Gurenko Reviews Political Situation

PM2811124090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Nov 90 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with S.I. Gurenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, by correspondent M. Odinets in Kiev, date not given: "At Life's Front Line"]

[Text] [Odinets] Debates continue to this day over the results of the 28th CPSU Congress. What can you say today about its influence on society's life, how do the processes in the party look—are they going in the right direction, or not?

[Gurenko] The congress undoubtedly gave the party aktiv and party workers rich material which should be made better use of in practical work. The congress also fulfilled one of the most important tasks—it helped to avoid a split in the party. Although a certain section did become detached, no split occurred. By collective efforts, generally meaningful documents were drawn up.

At the same time, feelings of dissatisfaction with the congress' results can be encountered among party members. I have wondered more than once why this was. Obviously the congress did not, after all, provide answers to a number of urgent questions brought into being by the rapid upsurge of democratization combined

with the crisis situation in the economy and in the state in general. The increased urgency of political processes and people's feelings and expectations demanded a more profound study of a number of topical problems. Thus the problem of party responsibility was not exhaustively analyzed. Rank-and-file CPSU members, experiencing strong moral and psychological pressure and not having been involved themselves in the tragic chapters of our history, often see no alternative than to leave the party. But is that a solution? Of course, here the congress failed to finish the job.

Today, to be frank, not only party members, but also nonmembers are questioning the cadre changes that took place after the congress. I am talking about the transfer of certain former Politburo members to the Presidential Council. People say: These reshuffles in the highest spheres of power should have been justified in the process of argument at the congress.

That is the objective angle, so to speak. The subjective angle is that people are simply not really familiar with the congress decisions yet. The torrent of information—second-hand and often tendentious—that came and is still coming through the mass media swamped many people's desire to study in depth the materials and decisions of the party forum. I would not wish to blame anyone for this. I think this too is a kind of sign of the times, and evidently in this situation the party and its Central Committee should find new methods of propagandizing and explaining their decisions. Although the old methods should not be abandoned. You remember how it used to be: The congress was held, and your newspaper immediately provided a number of items on its documents. Has the editorial office not made a mistake in abandoning this practice now? Basically the political education system is idle, although previously, overformalized as it was, it did produce some results.

[Odinets] The year is ending, and at many enterprises there is a difficult situation as regards the fulfillment of production programs. Only some of the contracts have been concluded. Many party committees which used to regard the economy as their main policy are in a state of confusion. At some enterprises they are being thrown off the premises entirely.

What is your view of all this?

[Gurenko] I think some people took too literally the thesis that the party should not lead the economy. After all, this does not mean that we should not concern ourselves with economic policy, that we can exist, so to speak, outside the economy. We have failed in precisely this area for more than two years, and this is now affecting not only economic results, but also the political situation. A part is also played by the fact that party committees, presumably afraid of being accused of holding on to the old leadership methods, have virtually left the elections to soviets to take care of themselves. What do we see today? Even where party organizations have had and still have a definite influence, this is not

reflected in the body of deputies. This, in my view, is one reason why many soviets are incapable of tackling urgent problems promptly and competently, while others are frankly more concerned with verbal arguments and the sharing out of portfolios.

I am not calling for a return to the old methods. That would be not only senseless, but frankly impossible. Life is changing, and whether we like it or not, in, say, the economic sphere, market relations are increasingly becoming a reality even today. Here diktat of any kind is inconceivable, and that includes party diktat.

Another point. When the party committees, if I can put it this way, retired from the economic battlefield, many of them lost their former links with Communist economic leaders. Some directors, in turn, developed a negative attitude to party organizations. Some of them, intentionally or otherwise, are promoting the departure of party committees from enterprises. Party committees have suffered particularly in the western oblasts [of the Ukraine], where a real anticommunist campaign has been launched. In a number of cases party committees have been forced to leave enterprises. There are similar cases at the pits in Donetsk and Lugansk Oblasts. We regard such pressure on the party as unlawful.

[Odinets] What do the figures tell us about the economy?

[Gurenko] In the past months, in general, there has been no major decline in production, although there has been no upsurge either. True, compared with last year we cannot boast, but I think the main targets for the republic's socioeconomic development will be fulfilled. The communists in the government are now working first and foremost on putting financial and budget affairs in order and stabilizing the situation in the republic.

[Odinets] The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo has adopted a series of measures to improve the Central Committee's structure and reduce its apparatus. Similar work is being done in the party obkoms [oblast committees], raykoms [rayon committees], and gorkoms [city committees]....

[Gurenko] Yes, this work is now in progress everywhere. Although in my view there have been excesses here, too, by way of concessions to people's feelings. Some people still think that functionaries live well on the basis of party subscriptions. But how do things really stand? Nearly half of these "functionaries" are primary party organization secretaries. In the conditions of a sharp fall in funds for maintaining the party, it is becoming increasingly difficult to make ends meet. After all, these same funds have to be used to organize propaganda and restructure other sectors of party work.

[Odinets] Destructive forces are creating a certain tension in the republic, calling for strikes, the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet, the resignation of the government, and court proceedings against the party. Unfortunately there are people's deputies among these extremists. Readers ask: If the majority of Ukrainian SSR [Soviet

[Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet members are Communists, why do they not bring a decisive influence to bear on the session's work? Is there a party group of Communist deputies in parliament, and how does it operate?

[Gurenko] To say that the communists' influence does not affect the atmosphere and the work of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet would be very unfair. It is another matter that by force of circumstance they have not yet succeeded in taking the initiative. There is a group of deputies in legislature who seek persistently to make political capital for themselves by going all out to abuse the CPSU, the Ukrainian Communist Party, the Soviet Union, Lenin, and the past and present leadership. Our political opponents want us either to abandon our party position, or leave parliament. Of course, they will never see either of these things happen.... I would like to stress that it is the communists and their restrained and principled stance that enable the Supreme Soviet to work fruitfully. That is what our opponents do not like. There is a party group in the legislature, it unites some 250 Communists (not all the party members belong to it). We are learning, gaining experience. Let me add: The potential for increasing the effectiveness of legislature's work is far from exhausted.

[Odinets] Incidentally, you mentioned attacks on Lenin and the party. Clearly these are also attacks on our socialist system, as is graphically demonstrated, for instance, by events in the western oblasts of the Ukraine. It is well known that "agitation squads" are dispatched from there to the central and eastern oblasts of the republic, where they seek to preach nationalism and call for secession from the USSR. Alas, the party organizations are as yet only feebly resisting these operations.

[Gurenko] First, I would like to take this opportunity through your newspaper once again to address the party comrades who are working in the western oblasts: We are using and will use every opportunity to support and help you. In this region today there are instances of the seizure of party committees' premises, and direct threats are made against Communists. It is to the credit of party members that in these conditions many uphold their convictions. Nonetheless I wish to stress that in such situations, I am convinced that it is the law that should operate first and foremost. That is why at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum I put this request to the leaders of our law enforcement organs and the USSR Supreme Soviet leadership: investigate cases of unlawful, anticommunist decisions and actions, including those by certain soviets. We are not looking for protection from Moscow—the Ukraine's Communists are capable of defending themselves. But in this instance I was speaking as a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and thinking about the prestige of our highest party organ, and of the highest organs of state power. It is good that a corresponding presidential decree is soon to be adopted.

[Odinets] The Ukrainian Communist Party contains a good many members of the creative intelligentsia—writers, artists, composers. Are they helping to maintain peace and accord in our home with their creative work today?

[Gurenko] That is not a very easy question. For many years in the Ukraine, and, I believe, not only here, the relationship between creative workers and the party leadership was determined by the peculiarities of the administrative edict system. There were attempts to interfere in the creative process, but there was also a good deal of flattery and fawning on a certain section of the intelligentsia. As a result, there emerged a group of cultural personalities who did much to glorify the period of stagnation and its "leaders" ["vozhdii"]. Today, in the days of perestroika, many of them, including some of the leaders of the Ukrainian Writers' Union, have left the party. Yet the personal libraries of the former leaders of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee contain copies of their books with warm words of dedication written inside only two or three years ago.

We are now trying to establish new relations and mutual understanding between party organizations and creative unions. This year a meeting was held between a Central Committee secretary and writers. We are planning to hold a meeting with veteran writers. I am convinced that the establishment of normal relations with the creative intelligentsia will be promoted by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee decision to repeal as politically erroneous the Ukrainian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee resolutions of the late forties and early fifties on questions of the development of Ukrainian literature, art, and history.

[Odinets] You mentioned instances of people leaving the party. Have a large number of people left its ranks?

[Gurenko] Since the beginning of the year some 180,000 people have left the party in the republic. I do not think this process has ended yet. There are many cases where communists do not pay their membership dues, and thereby also, in effect, terminate their party membership. This is my position: It is time for a re-registration of party members.

[Odinets] The Ukrainian Communist Party is one of the biggest in the CPSU. At the first stage of its congress, this proposal was made: after discussion by communists, later, at the second stage of the congress, to adopt Ukrainian Communist Party Statutes. How is the discussion going? What main avenues is it following?

[Gurenko] As the recent Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum showed, the attitude to this question is itself changing. At the first stage, when the draft statutes were proposed, misgivings were voiced: Is this not a separatist move? Now the majority are convinced that it is necessary. Of course, we are in favor of statutes that will not come into conflict with the CPSU Program and Statutes.

[Odinets] As someone who has spent a good many years in a plant collective, you hold the workers' interests dear. What is the party's role in the workers' movement today?

[Gurenko] The situation here is complex. I believe that at one time a number of obkoms, and indeed the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, failed to evaluate correctly the prospects for the development of the miners' movement after the outbreak of strikes in June-July 1989. There is a whole series of cities, in particular Donetsk, where communists' positions in the workers' movement are now weakened. Extremist, parochial sentiments have taken the upper hand there, although that was never characteristic of the Donbass.

[Odinets] Clearly Travkin played a certain part....

[Gurenko] Of course he did. But that is not the main point. True, we were not invited, for instance, to take part in the work of the miners' congress. But nor did we ourselves show initiative and speak out to neutralize the destructive slogans. I have recently met with the miners on several occasions. I believe we will be able to smooth out our relations and achieve mutual understanding. The main thing is for the miners to see for themselves that it is our party that really upholds their vital interests.

[Odinets] My last question. On the plinth of the V.I. Lenin monument in Kiev these historic words are etched: "With united action by Great-Russian and Ukrainian proletarians, a free Ukraine is possible; without such unity, there can be no question of it." Do the Ukraine's Communists recognize the full danger of the intentions and actions of destructive forces that direct their blows against Lenin and against the Leninist friendship of peoples?

[Gurenko] Indeed, the distinction between the national and the chauvinist is sometimes only relative. While showing every possible care for the prosperity and national rebirth of the Ukrainian people, we must do everything to avoid casting a shadow over the friendship or weakening the historical ties between the brother peoples. The strengthening of these ties and the protection and development of the good traditions that have become established is one of the most important tasks for the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and all the republic's communists. We are in favor of an equal, mutually advantageous political and economic union of sovereign republics. And that is what Lenin himself called for.

Communist Party Official on Depoliticization

91UN0424A Kiev *RABOCHAYA GAZETA*
in Russian 24 Nov 90 p 2

[Interview with Valentin Yevgenyevich Ostrozhinskiy, Politburo member and secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, by *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* correspondent; place, date not given: "Depoliticization: Let Us Clear the Air"]

[Text] [*RABOCHAYA GAZETA*] Valentin Yevgenyevich! Recently there has been a good deal of discussion about the further destiny of local party organizations in the Ukraine and ways of restructuring their work. The range of opinions is fairly broad: from the firm conviction that only the Communist Party should have organizations in the labor collectives to judgments that under the new multiparty conditions it would be expedient to place all party activity outside the enterprise. How do you feel about this?

[Ostrozhinskiy] Negative. This approach encroaches upon the citizens' right to join associations and conduct political activity in the labor collectives. Incidentally, your question shows how complex and multifaceted this multiple party phenomenon is. It is gaining increasing political and practical significance. One cannot but note, however, that the intentions of those who are in favor of political and philosophical pluralism are far from the same. Along with the sincere advocates of healthy change in our life, there are quite a few people who strive to take advantage of noble ideas for purposes of changing the socialist orientation of the society and further destabilizing the situation in the country and in the Ukraine. All this has to be taken into account in political work. It is time that someone recognizes that pluralism is called upon, above all, to contribute to the competition of ideas and actions in the interests of the people and not for antagonism of political forces.

[*RABOCHAYA GAZETA*] Unfortunately, we are encountering them. Why, for instance, did the representative of Narodnaya Rada at the session of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet have to raise the question of prohibiting the activity of the Communist Party of the Ukraine.

[Ostrozhinskiy] This demand, in my view, was from the area of naked abstractions. To raise the question of cutting out a healthy, vital organ, to use medical language, is, if not absurd, then at least unusually stupid. In this case, if we look at it more broadly, this is a dangerous provocation. For the Ukrainian Republican Party, of which the deputy you mentioned is a member, it is not advantageous to compete with the Communists who are impeding the attainment of antisocialist, separatist, and ultimately antipopular goals of the Republicans. This is why they propose banning the Communist Party in general. In order to demoralize the party members, they engage in political blackmail and do not even shrink before outright treachery and hooliganism.

[*RABOCHAYA GAZETA*] Could you illustrate that with some example?

[Ostrozhinskiy] This is perhaps one of the freshest ones. The dehumanized crowd, made up largely of drunken individuals, guided by representatives of the Ukrainian Republican Party, having broken down the doors, on 15 November broke into the premises of the party committee of the Lvov Kineskop production association and engaged in a pogrom there. One would like to hope that

this time members of the legal profession will not let the avowed instigators off with just a warning. People guilty of a pogrom in any democratic state should be held responsible.

[RABOCHAYA GAZETA] There is no doubt that the opposition, under the cover of the fabricated motto of depoliticization, want to urge the Communists on, as it were, to an artificial degeneration and to make them renounce their convictions. But still, I think that their main goal in the current stage is to eliminate the local party organizations from participation in active political work....

[Ostrozinskiy] In my view, it is wrong to speak of depoliticization. It is either an illusion or a deliberate political deception. In such a politicized society as ours, depoliticization is unthinkable in general. The labor collectives and the Army will always be the object of political life. And I would like to especially single out this important aspect.

When it comes to the question of whether or not there should be local party organizations in production, this question arises: To whose advantage is it? Indeed, who would stand to gain by depriving 3 million Communists of the Republic of the possibility of influencing the life of the labor collectives and participating in the improvement of social relations? The workers, the people of the Ukraine, the expression and protection of whose interests are the goal of all the political activity of the local party organizations? The society, which is in a condition of crisis and whose most stable and organized part is made up of Communists? You do not have to be Solomon to see behind all the talk about depoliticization the desire of certain political forces to weaken the positions of the Communist Party in the Republic and thus to cause an immense amount of harm to the cause of mobilizing the workers to solve the difficult problems facing us.

[RABOCHAYA GAZETA] Let us clarify anyway. Do your words, Valentin Yevgenyevich, not betray a certain party interest? You are adducing facts to defend your advantageous positions....

[Ostrozinskiy] I have already had occasion to hear those words. Indeed, you are not mistaken; of course, I am an interested party. But my interest pursues only one goal: to protect objective reality. Let us look into our history, which has gathered unto itself both the enthusiasm of achievements and the bitterness of heavy losses. Speaking from a position of common sense, can one really underestimate the role of the party in transforming our country from an agrarian one into an industrially developed power or in carrying out the cultural revolution? Recall how much the CPSU did to repulse foreign aggression, particularly the routing of the German fascist oppressors, for restoring the national economy that had been destroyed by the war, and for strengthening the

USSR defense capability. But I will not delve further into times past; our people are quite well aware of them themselves.

I do not think there is any need to explain what kind of needed work in organizing and consolidating the people the party organizations are now doing in production, in educational institutions, and in various other kinds of institutions. If there is depoliticization and the Communists are separated from the content and from the ultimate point of the activity of the local party organizations, this work will essentially come to a halt. Should we really strive for this? No matter how you look at it, this would hardly be reasonable.

[RABOCHAYA GAZETA] Obvious as this may be, nonetheless proponents of the idea of depoliticization sometimes, suddenly doing an about-face, suggest restricting ourselves to the territorial principle of construction of the Communist Party and the creation of its local party organizations exclusively in the place of residence. But this approach will lead our political organization to the status of a "municipal" party which can only influence questions that are within the competence of housing administrations. And no more...

[Ostrozinskiy] I agree. The idea of constructing the party according to the territorial principle is nothing other than "liquidation mania" against the background of quite opposed political tendencies. After all, that same Ukraine People's Movement for Perestroika, for example, when creating organizational structures is by no means guided by the territorial principle. And they practically do not exist in the housing operations complexes. They want to have their proponents united in lower-level "centers" and the "people's" movement mainly at enterprises, in organizations, and in educational institutions. Believe me, during the time I was doing party work in the Ternopol area I studied thoroughly the strategy and tactics of the actions of this social formation that is known for its anticommunist views. So the intention here is obvious: Under the pretext of depoliticization they want to revamp the party system.

[RABOCHAYA GAZETA] Yes, our party's political opponents are clever. And what is remarkable is that they direct their main efforts not toward smoothing out production and strengthening labor discipline, but toward establishing their role (to put it more simply—their ambitions) in the sociopolitical sphere. And here the public could probably be the best judge of the real intentions of various political forces....

[Ostrozinskiy] Undoubtedly. It is no longer too easy to deceive people—they are capable of figuring out for themselves with whom they are dealing. Since you have already mentioned production, let us discuss that. Few people think about why in all of the Baltic republics, according to the results of last year, there was a reduction in the output of almost all kinds of goods in mass demand. As the press convincingly shows, one of the reasons is that the "people's fronts," the parties that

have sprung up, and other political formations of these republics have concentrated their main efforts not on production, but on purely political issues. This is no accident, for the main task of many of the newborn movements and parties is to survive at any cost and to win in the battle for a place in the sun. For now the simplest way to do this is to criticize and attack the Communist Party. In these cases the interests of the workers are merely a means of satisfying their own ambitions. It is sad, but many people, when they enter hastily created social associations, do not yet understand that they are being manipulated for certain political interests.

[RABOCHAYA GAZETA] We quite fairly assert that clearcut legal order plus socially useful creative activity are a guarantee of success in any matter. It seems to me that, for example, the Ukrainian Republican Party, the Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth, and other formations have neither. Recently the party press has been criticizing these organizations a good deal and with justification for their adventurism, extremism, anticommunism....

[Ostrozinskiy] What do you want us to do? Put up with that? We think that extremism and adventurism directed against the people, inflammatory speeches, and unfair and dirty attacks on the party cannot be left without a response.

Who today is in a position to oppose these extremist intentions and unite healthy progressive forces under their banner? I think this is still our Communist Party. The October celebrations in the republic showed this more clearly than ever before. Unlike the poorly attended alternative events, tens of millions of people participated in the festive meetings, processions, and rallies in the Ukraine. This was an impressive spectacle. The content of the speeches, slogans, and banners carried by the people convincingly showed that the majority of the republic's workers respect their traditions and history and are true to the ideas of October and socialism.

Attempts to "bury" October and the revolution are futile. The back roads of history are the place for those who, calling for civil disobedience and strikes, are essentially betraying the people's interests and dooming the workers to large, irreparable losses. This is not just my opinion. Many people think this way today, which they tell us in meetings and by writing to the editors of our newspapers and to our republic Central Committee. In general, do our "democrats" know what civil disobedience is? After all, appeals for civil disobedience are certainly not a democratic method of political struggle; they are an attempt to halt all social processes, to disrupt and destroy social life. This means not only public transportation that has ground to a halt, but also nonoperating bakeries, schools and kindergartens, and closed hospitals, this means refusal to obey law enforcement organs, it means universal protest, anarchy, and lawlessness. In other words, all this is far from humanism, all this is a heavy yoke for the people.

[RABOCHAYA GAZETA] Now a good deal is being said about the importance of unifying social forces and creating civil harmony. There is the opinion that democracy is called upon to consolidate all the diversity of interests and not to develop along the line by which the majority cuts off the minority, but along the line of bringing their demands and views closer together. Is this possible?

[Ostrozinskiy] You state the question correctly. The path to the development of decisions today is the path of dialogue, discussion, consultation, agreements, and compromises. With any diversity of interests and opinions, with any number of participants in the political process, it turns out to be necessary to search for and find the common denominator on the basis of which it is possible to have general agreement and joint action. Incidentally, this was demonstrated convincingly during the course of the discussion and adoption by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet of the Declaration of the Sovereignty of the Ukraine.

[RABOCHAYA GAZETA] You mean that you do not support those who call for "curbing" the pluralism of opinions?

[Ostrozinskiy] The formula of "curbing" is too simple. It is unrealistic. The line of the Ukrainian Communist Party toward strengthening ties with the masses presupposes, on the one hand, the ability to conduct dialogue with people who think differently and, on the other, it demands a resolute and uncompromising fight against overt anticommunism.

I repeat once again: I am in favor of political pluralism. But, in my view, it is impossible to formally reduce it exclusively to a multiparty situation. For in essence it is nothing other than a ramified system of popular rule, of social self-government. But we frequently focus only on the creation of parties. We do not devote enough attention to the great possibilities of the soviets of people's deputies, the trade unions, the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, women's and veterans' councils, and various independent associations of workers. I was convinced once again a couple of days ago when participating in the work of the plenum of the republic council of veterans of war and labor that it is here that the masses really engage in the government of the society.

[RABOCHAYA GAZETA] Now I wish to ask the secretary of the Central Committee: Could it not turn out that in some places the party organizations will not stand up under the pressure from opposition political forces that are demanding depoliticization of the labor collectives? In such situations is there a possibility of resorting to the protection of the law?

[Ostrozinskiy] In spite of individual cases of capitulation under outright pressure, demands like this—as is shown by information from the local areas—are sharply rejected by Communists who consider proposals of depoliticization to be groundless. If we look at the law recently adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet "On

Social Associations," we become convinced that Article 4 says: "...All social associations, performing the functions stipulated by their charters and other documents, are operating within the framework of the USSR Constitution and the constitutions of the Union and autonomous republics and Soviet laws." In addition, in Article 5 we read: "The state provides for observance of the laws and legitimate interests of social associations and...guarantees conditions for their performance of their stated tasks." I note here paragraph 26 of the CPSU Rules envisions the creation of local organizations in the place of work or residence of Communists. Now let us judge: Is the question of depoliticization proper at all from the legal standpoint? As we see, the law protects the party organization from possible arbitrariness. Although, of course, Communists should know their rights precisely and be capable of defending them.

[RABOCHAYA GAZETA] In our editorial mail there are letters, mainly from the western oblasts of the Republic, whose authors complain about persecution because of ideological convictions. Have any legal norms regarding this been included in the law? Obviously, they should be....

[Ostrozshinskiy] I have no reason to doubt the facts cited by the readers of your newspaper. Indeed there is persecution of Communists who are teachers, workers in executive committees of local soviets and law enforcement organs, and people holding various leadership positions. The practice of "professional disqualification" that is condemned, even in the West, is still a tool for suppressing democracy.

But in this case we are talking about the law and not the fact. The law prohibits persecution because of ideological convictions and for belonging to one party or another if their policies and practical actions do not contradict the norms of the Constitution or the law. Thus the aforementioned Article 4 of the law says: "A citizen's participation or lack of participation in the activity of a social association cannot serve as a basis for restricting his rights and freedoms, including as a condition for employment in a position in a state organization or a basis for failure to carry out the duties prescribed by the law." In a word, it seems to me that this issue has been resolved successfully in our legislation. But whether or not these legal norms operate successfully in life is another question.

[RABOCHAYA GAZETA] Undoubtedly. But sometimes people in the law enforcement organs act as though nothing is happening. Or else they are not able to achieve precise and strict observance of the law....

[Ostrozshinskiy] Unfortunately, this is true. The order prescribed by the law must be introduced in the most resolute way here. Where there is no order you can expect the most unpleasant surprises. For the alternative to law is illegality and arbitrariness. But those who try under various "noble" pretexts to sidestep legal norms never admit this aloud. They think up all kinds of ways

to camouflage their actions. This means that we must be more attentive and vigilant. Much—I emphasize this especially—can be done by our journalists to protect the civil rights of Communists. In these questions, too, we need glasnost, efficiency, honesty, and comradely support.

[RABOCHAYA GAZETA] One more question. How do you, Valentin Yevgenyevich, feel about those who have decided to give up their party cards in this difficult situation? As far as I know, some people regard this as a courageous and honorable act....

[Ostrozshinskiy] I would not say that. In my view, there is more courage and honor—at a difficult moment when essentially the fate of our society and the socialist option is being decided—in remaining in the party. I shall say straight out that only a person with a strong character, who defends the ideals we hold dear, and is aware of and defends his dignity, is capable of this. Such a party member, and they comprise the majority of our ranks, under any circumstances in life will not decide to turn in his party card, to move to the sidelines, and to pander to those who are calling for depoliticization. Therefore, I appeal to all who are confused: Do not give in to outbursts of emotion, do not be in a hurry to make a decision about leaving the CPSU! Remember that only solidarity and joint efforts of party members and all healthy forces of the society can rectify that difficult situation in which our state has found itself. The people and history will give you your due in full measure.

[RABOCHAYA GAZETA] Thank you for the conversation.

Communist Party Statement Slams Rukh Policies

PM1611143990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Nov 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondents M. Odinets and I. Tikhomirov: "Where Is Rukh Drifting: Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Statement"]

[Text] Kiev—The second all-Ukrainian Rukh conference was held 26-28 October in Kiev. The course of the conference, the prevailing atmosphere, the substance of the adopted documents, and the extremist actions that have been organized recently by activists from Rukh and other opposition forces, particularly in Kiev City, were the reason for making an assessment of the current demarcation of the Ukraine's main political forces. This assessment was set out in a "Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo Statement" published today.

There is no doubt today, the statement says, that, at the wish of its leaders, Rukh has become an anticommunist organization in opposition to the "existing regime."

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has frequently said that the reluctance of the public figures who founded Rukh to dissociate themselves from

its extremist wing would ultimately result in anticommunists gaining the upper hand within and getting hold of Rukh. That is what has happened. The forces posing as "democrats" have shown their true colors. People, including those who sincerely believed Rukh's statements of support for the course of renewing socialist society, now have a chance to find out to what kind organization they belong and where they are being summoned and led.

The competition in anticommunist terminology to see who can speak more rudely about the CPSU, socialism, the Union state, and its leaders effectively went on for four days in the "Ukraina" Palace. A prize was even introduced for journalists to produce the year's best anticommunist article. People who have recently been going completely over the top on these topics were particularly zealous.

The proposals to ban, disband, pass judgment on, and nationalize property are by no means a complete list of those made by the "democrats" as regards the CPSU and the Ukrainian Communist Party. It is hard to tell what fit of spite and hatred might take them to the point of describing the Communist Party as a criminal organization and, consequently, the republic's Communists, numbering more than three million people, as criminals.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo considers Rukh leaders' statements that the Communist Party is ready to undertake repressions of some kind and use force, that it is supposedly defending corrupt elements and sowing dissension and mistrust between peoples of the Ukraine with various beliefs, are filthy political provocation and insolent lies. Honest unbiased people see that the Ukrainian Communist Party is consistently and invariably striving to pool the efforts of and consolidate all healthy forces in society and seeking ways to escape from the grave situation in which the republic has found itself. They also see that it is Rukh members, while hypocritically calling for civil peace, who are in fact making considerable efforts to create conflict situations and destabilize the situation and are vigorously fanning interreligious strife.

The fact that Rukh's yellow and blue banners are being supplanted more and more noticeably by Banderite flags is also logical in Rukh's political evolution. The special resolution adopted by the second all-Ukrainian Rukh conference regarding the rehabilitation of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists-Ukrainian Insurgents Army and their ringleaders, who have been proclaimed "national heroes," is seen as disregard for public opinion and the Ukrainian people's historical memory and as blasphemy to the glorious memory of the tens of thousands of peaceful inhabitants tortured by the Ukrainian nationalists.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo says that there can be no forgiveness for those people who spilt the blood of innocent victims and that

the hopes of Bandera's new followers that the people will proclaim the murderers to be heroes are in vain.

It must be said that the conference resolutions, statements, and appeals lack constructive proposals as regards the burning problems worrying people today. The conference did not propose a concrete program to extricate the republic from the crisis situation or a mechanism to implement this. On the other hand, calls were heard for the creation of parallel power structures, strikes, and civil disobedience, which is in effect provocative inflammatory activity fueling concern and alarm among people who have already grown extremely weary of socioeconomic disorder and political instability.

We are convinced, the statement stresses, that the Ukraine's state sovereignty and spiritual and economic revival can be secured by the consolidation of the people, accord, and civil peace. Ukrainian Communists oppose confrontation.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo urges the republic's citizens, communists, healthy forces within Rukh, and everyone who values peace and tranquillity in our common home to deal a resolute rebuff to political extremists inciting people to hostility and dissension.

We firmly believe, it says in conclusion, that the people will understand who professes to be concerned and who is really concerned for their future and the future of the sovereign Ukrainian socialist state.

Ukraine Publishes Market Economy Program

914A0162A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
16 Nov 90 pp 1-2

["Concept of Transition of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to a Market Economy"]

[Text] The concept and program for the transition of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] to a market economy are based on the provisions of the Declaration of the State Sovereignty of the Ukraine and the Ukrainian SSR Law "On the Economic Independence of the Ukrainian SSR," which created the necessary preconditions for providing its own policy for the transition to a market economy for purposes of raising the standard of living of the people of the Ukraine.

Section 1. GENERAL PROVISIONS

1. Concept and Typical Features of the Ukrainian Market

The market of the Ukraine is a system of commodity and monetary relations with a mechanism for free price setting and with free entrepreneurship based on economic independence, equal rights, and competition among the subjects of management in the contest for the consumer. The Ukrainian market envisions the use of

economic regulators for state influence on the development of the national economy and the existence of an effective system of social protection of the population.

The Ukrainian market is based on the motivation of commodity producers to produce products to satisfy the needs of the national economy and the population, and it guarantees:

- freedom of entrepreneurial activity, including price setting;

- the filling of state orders under mutually advantageous conditions, which will provide for carrying out the main tasks for restructuring the national economy on the basis of target programs;

- social protection of the population, especially the less well-off strata.

The market of the Ukraine interacts on the basis of equivalent commodity exchange with the markets of other republics and foreign countries.

In order to protect the domestic market of the Ukraine, in certain stages determined by the program, various organizational and economic measures are taken, including providing their own currency, customs service, and tax system. The state contributes to strengthening enterprises and organizations of the Ukraine on the market.

Every economic subject entering into market relations has the right to independently resolve questions of selecting the kinds of products to be produced, the production technology, scientific and technical progress, the selection of partners for cooperative ties and the sale of products, the question of price setting, and the areas for the use of profit.

2. Model of the Ukraine's Transition to a Market Economy

World experience has produced three main kinds of models for transition to a market economy: evolutionary, "shock therapy," and strict regulation. The model of an evolutionary transition to the market, which is based on stage-by-stage and gradual introduction of market relations, allows too much time for the transition (10-15 years), which is unacceptable under the conditions of a severe economic crisis.

The "shock therapy" model, which involves introducing all attributes of the market at the same time and a simultaneous transition of the economy to a market basis, leads in the first stage to excessive inflation, unemployment, and a drop in production. The actual situation of the Ukrainian economy makes it impossible to choose this path.

The model of strict regulation of the transition to a market economy is based on state regulation of prices of the most important kinds of goods on the one hand, and the profit of the population on the other. It is based on encouragement of entrepreneurship and "freezing" of social guarantees. This model requires strong actions on

the part of the government and essentially preserves the dictatorship of the administrative-bureaucratic system, which is unacceptable.

In this connection, for the conditions of the Ukrainian SSR, which are characterized by an imbalance of the monetary system, a low technological level of the production potential, and a critical situation in the entire economy, the most realistic is our own variant of the Concept for Transition to the Market. It envisions the introduction of our own monetary unit, which will reliably provide for the protection of the consumer market both from the exportation of goods and from the influx of money from outside the republic.

Until this problem is resolved a consumer book must be used along with a system for normed distribution of a limited list of nonfood commodities.

The Concept of the Ukraine is oriented toward acceleration of the process of state withdrawal and privatization of property with a clear and unambiguous determination of the volume, structure, and boundaries of all forms of property of the people of the Ukrainian SSR. At the same time it is necessary to create a mechanism for providing for relatively equal initial conditions for each member of society and a guarantee of the social protection of the population. It is also necessary to make it impossible for monetary funds not backed by commodities to enter the consumer market.

In order to hold back the growth rates of the incomes of enterprises, above all the part that goes into the consumer market in the form of cash money, it is necessary to provide a state credit-financial and price policy which stimulates the development of consumer goods and the expansion of services to the population.

This overall model of transition to the market will provide for accelerated surmounting of inflationary processes and the economic crisis as a whole, and it will make it possible in the next stage to move on to the development of authentic market relations. We think it is quite feasible to change over to the market during 1991-1992.

3. Procedure and Stages of the Transition to the Market

Taking into account the complexity and the many facets of the program for transition to the market, it would be expedient to single out two stages for its implementation: preparatory and transitional.

In the preparatory stage it is necessary to implement the following measures:

- preparing draft legislative acts which should provide the legal basis for the market, and submitting them for the consideration of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet;

- forming a mechanism for social protection of the republic's population;

- developing a republic program for withdrawal of the state from property ownership;

bringing the organizational structures of management in line with the requirements of the market economy.

The transitional stage envisions providing for:

- withdrawal of the state from property ownership;
- the creation of a market infrastructure;
- the development and implementation of a program for improving the economy;
- improvement of the monetary system, the issuance of national currency, and the transition to free price setting;
- free entrepreneurship;
- reliable social protection of the population;
- the use of levers of state regulation.

The stabilization of the market and prices achieved as a result of these measures will make it possible to develop and improve market relations in all spheres of the economy. There will be further structural changes in production under the influence of the demands of world markets and intensive use of world-class technical equipment, technologies, and production organization as a basis for improving the well-being of the people. During this period a special role should be played by including the Ukrainian market in broad world economic ties and enlisting foreign investors for the formation of joint productions and the necessary market structures.

Section 2. PROPERTY RELATIONS AND FREE ENTREPRENEURSHIP

4. Mechanism for State Withdrawal and Privatization of Property

The state will withdraw from ownership in order to provide for the operation on the Ukrainian market of a large number of independent, free commodity producers which are liable not only with their current incomes but also with their real property, to overcome the alienation of the workers from the means and results of production, to restore and develop competition, to restructure production and management of the economy, and to attract foreign investments.

The principles of withdrawal of the state from ownership envision:

- protection of the interests of the workers and society;
- voluntary action; existence with equal rights and protection of all forms of property;
- specific conditions in various branches of the national economy;
- public reporting.

The process of the withdrawal of the state from the ownership of property will be carried out in the following way:

from the sale of shares and the creation of joint-stock companies. In the first stage of the withdrawal of the state, shares are to be sold only to workers of enterprises that are being transformed into joint-stock companies (as a rule, large enterprises). The state in the form of state management organs or a state enterprise will also have

the right to buy shares. Foreign individuals and corporate persons will also have a right to buy some of the shares;

with their own money through the purchase of enterprises from the state by collectives, private individuals, cooperatives, and associations (mainly medium-sized and small enterprises).

The sale and transfer of state property to the commercial sector will be conducted on the basis of market prices which take into account the value of fixed and circulating capital. Shares will be used extensively for the withdrawal of the state from such branches as trade, public catering, the sphere of services, construction, automotive transportation, and so forth. Management organs will be created for the withdrawal of the state and the concentration of monetary funds from the sale of property.

5. Land Reform

The transition to market relations envisions a radical transformation of agrarian relations, which requires that a land reform be conducted.

Regulation of agrarian relations is directed toward the creation of conditions for efficient use of the land, restoration of the fertility of the soil, protection and improvement of the environment, and equal development of various forms of business.

The land is the exclusive property of the people of the Ukraine. Within its borders the republic provides for the disposal of the land and develops land legislation. The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet has the authority to dispose of the land during the period of withdrawal of the state and privatization. Variant 1. In keeping with legislation of the Ukraine, land is offered to citizens and their associations for lifetime use, which can be passed on through leasing or sale.

Variant 2. In keeping with legislation of the Ukraine, land is granted to citizens and their associations for lifetime use, which can be passed on through leasing.

It is forbidden to sell land to foreign physical or corporate individuals. It is permitted to transfer this land to these people under lease or concession for a certain period determined by legislation of the Ukraine.

Land ownership and land use must be paid for in the Ukraine. Payment for land is made in the form of a land tax or lease payment, depending on the quality and the location of the plots and taking into account the indicators of the land cadastre, category assessment, and the market value.

Land owners and land users are given the right to work the land independently and to dispose of the products they produce and also to conduct other kinds of activity in keeping with their specified purpose, but this must be combined with an obligation to use the land effectively.

The policy for protection of the land is established legislatively in the Ukraine, taking into account ecological requirements and monitoring to make sure that it is used effectively.

6. Demonopolization of the Economy

The antimonopoly structure must destroy state and economic monopolistic structures and form new ones which will provide for the development of competition of commodity producers, the sale of goods, and the granting of services.

The principles of demonopolization of the economy envision:

- prohibition of formal and informal agreements among participants in the market which call for dividing the market up according to criteria of territory, sales and purchase volumes, or the group of consumers;
- prohibition of monopolistic price setting;
- prohibition of the use of false information that could damage the reputation or the credit qualifications of the competitor;
- the inadmissibility of applying pressure to the competitor or his client;
- prohibition of buying up or accumulating goods for purposes of creating an artificial deficit;
- measures that prevent concentration of the production and sale of goods which give an individual market subject control over the market.

The republic is creating an antimonopoly committee whose functions include monitoring the execution of antimonopoly legislation, conducting expert evaluations of decisions of management organs, and applying established legislative sanctions.

7. Free Entrepreneurship

The goal of the restructuring of entrepreneurship is to form a ramified network of market subjects.

The main principles on which the solution to the problem should be based are:

- the granting of legal guarantees of free entrepreneurship, including a guarantee of the right to property, products that are produced, free choice of partners for direct ties, the performance of export-import operations, and independent use of profit (income);
- the creation of equal possibilities for the development of all kinds of entrepreneurial activity based on various forms of ownership.

The development of entrepreneurship may be regulated only by economic methods—through taxes and tax relief, credit, quotas, licenses, sanctions, and subsidies. State and local self-government organs are not allowed to interfere with the economic and commercial activity of the entrepreneur.

The development of free competition among commodity producers may be encouraged through granting orders

on a competitive basis with the conclusion of contracts and differentiating taxes and tax relief, special purpose credit, and price setting.

A flexible system of support for entrepreneurship is being created in the republic in order to develop entrepreneurship more rapidly and provide for practical exercise of the rights and freedoms of the entrepreneurs and expansion of the sphere of their activity in the republic.

On its own territory the republic regulates the development of foreign entrepreneurship and the conditions for organizing joint enterprises and free economic zones based on existing legislation.

Section 3. REHABILITATION OF THE MONETARY-FINANCIAL SYSTEM

8. Reform of the Financial-Budget System [subhead]

The financial-budget reform is directed toward allowing the Ukrainian SSR to create its own financial system, which is comprised of the finances of the republic and local organs of authority, the finances of organizations and enterprises with all forms of ownership, bank and state credit, and providing for independence of the budget of the Ukraine and local budgets.

The budget system is constructed on the basis of the following principles:

- assigning each unit of the budget system legislatively established sources of income;
- establishing differentiated taxes on profit depending on the kinds of activity and equal taxes for all forms of ownership, jurisdiction, and affiliation within the framework of each kind of activity;
- providing for the independence of each unit of the budget system in the formation and utilization of assigned income sources.

The system based on independence of the budgets of various levels (with rational connections between them) enables the corresponding management organs to have a financial base for implementing their own socioeconomic policy, performing their functions, and carrying out their social programs.

9. Reform of the Banking System

The purpose of the banking reform is to commercialize the monetary circulation of the national currency on the basis of the creation of a two-level system which includes the National Bank of the Ukrainian SSR (upper level) and commercial banks (lower level).

The principles of the reform of the banking system include:

- providing for the independence of the National Bank of the Ukraine, under the jurisdiction of only the highest legislative organ of the republic;

the creation under the National Bank of a republic reserve system which accumulates the assets of the commercial banks;

the development of market relations among banks and between the banks and the investors and consumers of monetary funds.

The main functions of the National Bank are:

- to regulate monetary circulation on the basis of an exclusive right to emit money and conduct operations on the open market;

- to create, store, and use the basic reserve fund of the republic, to grant credit to commercial banks with reserve funds, to conduct the reporting and interest policy and operations on the open market;

- to introduce state monetary accounts and to conduct operations with commercial banks with state financial funds and also operations on the open market for the sale and purchase of state securities.

Operations with enterprises, organizations, and the population are conducted by universal and specialized commercial banks.

The credit policy at the time of the transition to the market economy should be directed toward encouraging entrepreneurship as much as possible, increasing the production of high-quality goods, converting military production, and expanding the assortment of consumer goods with a strict limitation on the overall sum of loans that are granted.

10. Price-Setting Policy

The price policy should facilitate the transition to market relations. Along with the introduction of national currency it is necessary to envision additional regulators in the event of a sharp increase in the prices of individual goods, which can establish maximum prices and the level of maximum profitability for the corresponding period.

This should result in the creation of conditions for equivalent exchange, free entrepreneurship, real economic accountability, self-capitalization, restructuring the financial system and retarding inflationary processes, and the creation of preconditions for integrating the Ukrainian economy into the world economy.

As market relations are established and the inflation level is reduced, state control of prices will weaken and free price setting will increase.

11. Normalization of Monetary Circulation

When introducing its own money the National Bank of the Ukraine exercises control over its ratios and the establishment of its exchange rate in keeping with the exchange rate of the ruble and the currencies of other USSR republics and foreign countries.

In addition to this, after the introduction of the Ukrainian ruble the republic should take on a certain share of the Union exchange currency debt and also some of the credit indebtedness of other countries to the Union.

The Ukraine should provide for the introduction and existence of its own currency, in the first place, through

the redistribution of the main assets of the USSR State Bank (gold, valuables, securities, currency) and also the internal and foreign debt, and, in the second place, through the production on republic territory of goods that could be sold for new means of payment, fully covering all that are in circulation. For purposes of developing monetary relations, the National Bank of the Ukraine should conduct measures directed toward converting republic currency and developing the currency market.

The organization of the currency market should provide for a significant decentralization of currency relations and, in the future, external convertibility of national currency.

Section 4. DEVELOPMENT OF MARKET RELATIONS AND THE CREATION OF THE MARKET INFRASTRUCTURE

12. Extension of Commodity Relations to Means of Production, Labor, and Capital

The purpose of restructuring the economy of the Ukrainian SSR is to create a system of markets whose coordinated interaction provides for the distribution of economic resources adequate to the social demands.

The most important principles of solving this problem are granting means of production, finances, work force, and, partially, housing and social, cultural, and domestic facilities the status of goods and making their formation and use subject to the laws of commodity and monetary circulation. The Ukrainian SSR legislatively guarantees and actually provides for free entrepreneurial activity in the indicated markets for all subjects of management, regardless of forms of ownership, on the basis of competition of equals.

Markets for means of production, finances, and labor are formed in stages, through a legislatively imposed reduction of the volumes of state orders and changes in their kinds and abolition of centralized distribution of resources (setting quotas and funds), and this can be fully achieved after the restructuring of the national economy with an orientation toward final consumption and completion of the demonopolization of production.

13. Creation of the Market Infrastructure

Commodity and monetary relations in the Ukrainian SSR are formed and developed on the basis of the market infrastructure. Its main elements are:

- on the market of means of production—commodity exchanges, a network of wholesale intermediaries, funds for stabilizing the market, leasing firms, service centers, firm and commission stores, brokerage and dealer firms, and leasing points and centers;

- on the financial market—fund and currency exchanges, commercial banks, insurance companies, auditing firms;

- on the work force market (labor)—labor exchanges, intermediary firms (offices) for labor placement.

The Ukrainian SSR contributes to the creation of the market infrastructure legislatively and with financial resources.

14. Creation of the Consumer Market

During the transition period the Ukrainian SSR consumer market is formed through conducting the following measures:

- development of entrepreneurship in the sphere of production of consumer goods, priority withdrawal of the state and demonopolization of the second subdivision of public production, support for small and medium-sized enterprises, and tax and credit encouragement for the production of consumer goods;

- removal of restrictions on sales of goods from the "nontraditional" assortment, encouragement of the population's acquisition of goods for long-term use (mainly housing);

- stage-by-stage transition to free price setting for the majority of kinds of goods, gradual abolition of subsidies for enterprises operating at a loss, and a radical revision of preferential distribution of consumer goods;

- encouragement of expansion of imports of consumer goods and their sale on a commercial basis (auctions, free prices, independent brokers).

The Ukrainian SSR through state regulation provides for supply exceeding demand and for stability of the consumer market, using tax, credit, and price levers, commodity supplies, and a flexible foreign economic policy to this end. The Ukrainian SSR takes the necessary measures to protect the consumer market.

15. Creation of a Market for Means of Production

The market for means of production in the Ukrainian SSR provides for free sale of means of production—raw materials, processed materials, fuel, energy, and equipment. It is formed by means of replacing centralized distribution of resources with free trade in the majority of kinds of products for production and technical purposes. The organizational basis for the development of the market of means of production is demonopolization of production, the provision of competition among commodity producers and trade intermediaries, and the introduction of modern marketing systems and advertising activity.

16. Creation of the Financial Market

The financial market in the Ukrainian SSR includes markets of credit resources, securities, and currencies which accumulate and redistribute temporarily free monetary resources in keeping with the needs of subjects of management. It is formed on the basis of elimination of state monopolies in the banking system, the transformation of specialized state banks into commercial ones, and development of all elements of the market infrastructure.

17. The Creation of a Labor Force Market

The labor force market in the Ukrainian SSR provides for balance between supply and demand. The demand for the labor force is determined by the overall level of economic activity, the creation of jobs, including public jobs, and the degree of legislative regulation of the employment of workers. The supply on the labor force market depends on the dynamics of demographic processes, general working conditions, the organization of a system of training and retraining skilled personnel, the condition of the consumer market, the wage policy, and the rates of release of workers from existing production.

State regulation of the labor force market in the Ukrainian SSR is developed from a flexible socioeconomic policy directed toward the development of market relations, on the one hand, and the provision of social protection of workers on the other. The instruments of state regulation of the labor force market are influence on the wage conditions and the level and structure of incomes, and also the social policy and labor legislation.

Section 5. STATE REGULATION OF MARKET RELATIONS

18. Functions and Means of State Regulation

The goal of state regulation of the economy is the achievement of effective, advancing, and stable economic, social, scientific, and cultural development of the Ukrainian SSR. State regulation is provided through managerial, planning, and control activity on the part of the ministries, state committees, and inspections of the Ukrainian SSR, and it precludes interference in the activity of the enterprises and other management subjects not envisioned by republic legislation.

The main principles of state regulation of the economy are:

- minimum interference of state organs in economic processes: the state is delegated only those functions that cannot be performed directly by the subjects of market relations;

- regular influence on the development of the socioeconomic processes, taking into account close interconnections among the markets for capital, finances, commodities, labor, and others on the basis of the formation of the necessary economic regulators and normatives, a methodological base, and the corresponding state organs.

The functions of state regulation of the Ukrainian SSR economy include: formation of a system of economic institutions of state management; development and coordination of a strategy of the economic, social, and scientific-technical policy; reinforcement of conditions for the functioning of the market, activation of market relations, reduction of the effects of crisis phenomena through taking advantage of the rights and opportunities the government has at its disposal, including material-technical and financial resources; regulation of supply

and demand for goods through subsidizing their consumption; redistribution of incomes of the population and subjects of management directed toward reducing social inequality; encouragement of production created on the basis of new technologies, development of export production, economic protection of strategically important productions; development of a regional policy and its implementation through budget financing; development and implementation of a system of social protection of the population; development and ensurance of the observance of requirements for protection and reproduction of environmental resources.

State regulation of the economy is carried out by normative, financial, and administrative methods.

The legal basis for state regulation of the economy is comprised of legislative and normative acts which determine the formation and functioning of elements of the market economy.

19. Indicative and Budget Planning

The purpose of indicative planning is to achieve the main goals of state influence on socioeconomic development on the basis of the establishment and development of the corresponding strategy, tactics, and policy with the means of introducing them. Indicative planning is a system of recommendations that are not mandatory for subjects of market relations and also coordinated and interconnected means of outside (indirect) influence through the budget-financial and monetary-credit mechanisms and direct influence through state entrepreneurship and the development of comprehensive target programs.

The basic principles of indicative planning are:

- the combination of analytical and prognosticatory methods to study socioeconomic processes, determine specific objects of state influence, and select ways and means of this influence;

- provision of extensive information for subjects of market relations about particular prospects and predictions of socioeconomic development in order to give them the necessary orientation when making private management decisions;

- application of mainly indirect (side) regulators and normatives that are mandatory for all subjects of market relations;

- direct influence on socioeconomic processes mainly through funds from the state budget.

It is assumed that the regulating influence of plans and programs will be provided by informing enterprises with all kinds of ownership of the quotas of land, water, and timber use, normatives for payment for natural resources, payments for leasing land, land tax, fines for enterprises' receipt of profit through illegal price increases, normatives of fines for environmental pollution and inefficient utilization of natural resources, and coordination with enterprises and organizations of the state order and limits on capital investments and material resources.

The goals of the plans, prognoses, and programs are attained mainly through financial funds for regulation and, above all, budget planning—of the state budget and republic special-purpose funds.

During the transition period the state actively uses regulation funds of the monetary and credit policy.

20. Tax Regulation

The purpose of tax regulation is economic influence of the processes of the formation of private financial funds of market subjects through withholding part of their incomes and, on the other hand, the formation of centralized financial funds of the state with these withheld funds.

Tax regulation is provided through taxation of profit, the collection of excise taxes, turnover tax, and income tax from the citizens, payment for land and natural resources, income tax from kolkhozes [collective farms], cooperative and social organizations, and local taxes. The republic tax system regulates the structure of incomes of the republic and local budgets, which is not subject to revision or amendment. Tax revenues comprise the main part of the incomes of local budgets, reducing their dependence on subsidies from higher-level budgets, loans, and nontax incomes.

21. Price Regulation

The following are used during the transition stage of the formation of the Ukrainian SSR market:

- state (firm) prices and tariffs;
- regulated prices and tariffs;
- free prices and tariffs.

State and regulated prices and tariffs are applied for purposes of social protection of the population and the anti-inflation policy. As commodity-monetary relations develop, the sphere of application of free prices expands.

State prices are established for the most important kinds of industrial and agricultural products and also consumer goods and services, which determine the standard of living of the population. Surcharges and rebates may be applied in order to provide flexibility of state prices.

Regulation is achieved through the establishment of maximum restrictions on state (firm) prices (tariffs) or through progressive taxation.

Maximum prices and tariffs may be established by the ispolkoms [executive committees] of local soviets of people's deputies for individual goods, services or kinds of activity of cooperatives, citizens, and enterprises.

Section 6. SOCIAL PROTECTION OF THE POPULATION

22. The Mechanism for Social Protection

The purpose of social protection of the citizens under the conditions of transition to the market is legislative reinforcement of the forms and levels of rendering

economic support and guarantees of observance of the social rights of various segments of the population.

The construction of the mechanism for social protection of the republic's population during the transition to market relations is based on the following main principles:

- provision of a differentiated approach to various sociodemographic groups and strata of the population, depending on the degree of their economic independence, ability to work, and ways of obtaining income;

- a greater role for private incomes in raising the standard of living of the able-bodied population through increased effectiveness and activation of initiative in the sphere of labor, surmounting of equalizing tendencies in the wage mechanism, and distribution of public consumption funds;

- the application of a system of scientifically substantiated social normatives.

The system for social protection of the population includes:

- state guarantees of payment for hired labor;
- compensation to the population for losses related to one-time price increases for certain kinds of goods and services while conducting comprehensive price reforms;

- indexation of monetary incomes, including deposits in savings banks, with the current price increases for goods and services;

- maintenance of the standard of living of underprivileged citizens and families with children.

According to the basic principles for the formation of the system for social protection, the concrete mechanism for achieving its basic goals should provide for maintaining the minimum standard of living for all less-protected segments of the society, relative equalization of starting conditions until the market mechanism goes into effect for wages for various categories of employed people and social security for the disabled, and preservation of the justified wage differentiation and maintenance of the proportions among various spheres of the republic's economy.

23. The Income Policy

A policy suitable for the majority of the able-bodied population in the area of increasing incomes is determined at various levels through agreements and contracts between the government and entrepreneurs, trade unions, and other organs for worker self-government which represent the interests of the workers with regard to incomes and wages and the degree of their growth with various dynamics of resulting economic indicators (national income, net output, and so forth).

Expenditures on indexation of incomes of those unable to work (old-age and disability pensions, stipends to families with children, and so forth) and also citizens employed in budget organizations and institutions are made from the state budget, and in the sphere of material production—from incomes from autonomously financed enterprises.

24. Employment Policy in the Republic

In order to provide for full and effective employment of the republic's population, balance between supply and demand for the labor force, and prevention of mass unemployment, republic and local government organs regulate the distribution of productive forces, determine the investment policy, and create new jobs taking into account the development of various forms of ownership and economic formations. Republic and local government organs develop regional employment programs that envision satisfaction of the citizens' needs for work.

On the territory of the republic a state employment service is created which contributes to providing jobs for the citizens. A state fund for contributing to employment and social support is created in order to carry out the employment policy and provide material and financial support for unemployed citizens.

25. Training and Retraining of Personnel

The Ukrainian SSR independently forms the republic's personnel potential, which provides for balance of supply and demand for the work force.

The state establishes the procedure for regulation of mutually advantageous relations with other republics in the form of contracts for the employment of skilled personnel.

All kinds of training, retraining, and improvement of qualifications of personnel are carried out under contractual conditions at the client's expense.

Section 7. FOREIGN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

The goal of foreign economic activity is to be:

- the implementation of our own foreign economic policy based on the interests of the republic's economy;
- satisfaction of the needs of the domestic market through imports of goods which are in short supply and the provision of advantageous exports of products based on domestic needs;

- active attraction of foreign investments, technologies, and experience for the restructuring of the national economy.

Foreign economic activity is based on the following principles:

- priority in foreign economic relations of international agreements and norms of international law;
- mutual advantage in international economic relations;

- equality of opportunity of all management subjects to enter into foreign economic transactions in keeping with Ukrainian SSR legislation.

The Ukrainian SSR bears responsibility for commitments in foreign economic activity with respect to foreign states, foreign firms, and international organizations only for agreements concluded by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers;

the Ukrainian SSR recognizes succession in its share of the foreign economic debts of the USSR in the event that there is an agreement with the USSR government concerning the Ukraine's share of the USSR gold and currency reserve and diamond supply.

Subjects of foreign economic activity in the Ukrainian SSR will be corporate and physical individuals and state and local organs of power.

Earnings from export-import operations are paid into the accounts of the physical and corporate individuals and may not be withdrawn without their permission. The formation of the currency reserves of local, oblast, and state budgets from the hard-currency earnings of physical and corporate individuals is possible only through taxation.

All participants in foreign economic activity have the right to create currency reserves. The owners of currency reserves have the right to sell them, including at currency auctions and exchanges, exchange them, or offer them for credit or for use, and also make voluntary deposits of them into general and social funds, and joint-stock and other kinds of companies.

All enterprises and state institutions may freely purchase currency funds, including at currency auctions and exchanges, receive them on credit and for use, and transfer them into their own currency reserves.

The distributor of the state currency fund of the republic is the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers. The basic directions for the use of funds from of the republic currency reserve are approved by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Currency operations at currency auctions and currency exchanges are carried out in keeping with Ukrainian SSR legislation on currency operations.

The Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers may establish conditions for licenses or quotas for exports, imports, and other forms of foreign economic operations in cases when they can lead to a disturbance of the balance on the domestic market, in the event of a sharp deterioration of the republic payment balance or the attainment of the level of foreign indebtedness established by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, and also based on state interests of the republic in relations with individual countries.

Section 8. PROTECTION AND REHABILITATION OF THE ECOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT

The goal of the ecology policy is the creation of comfortable conditions for the life of the people of the Ukraine, improvement of the natural environment, effective utilization of it, and restoration of natural resources.

The ecology policy is based on such principles as the priority of the ecology over other problems of socio-economic development, extensive state support for ecological measures, taking public opinion into account

regarding the distribution of harmful productions, and the enlistment of various sources of financing for ecological programs.

Taking into account the significant overloading of the environment by the results of man's technological activity, a system of strict state measures is implemented to rehabilitate the environment through:

- the development of large state programs financed through the budget of the republic and local soviets;
- the use of tax legislation with stricter norms for affecting the environment and also with the implementation of ecology measures.

A most important task in the achievement of the goals of the ecology policy is the realization of the provisions of the program for cleaning up after the Chernobyl nuclear power plant disaster, a prerequisite for which should be the establishment of the status of the Ukraine as ecological disaster zone.

Under market conditions the enterprise must promptly take environmental protection measures directed toward reducing and compensating for the negative effects of its production on the environment. These measures may be financed with its own funds or funds from outside sources.

In keeping with Ukrainian SSR legislation, the enterprise bears responsibility for observance of the requirements and norms for efficient use, restoration, and protection of the land, water, minerals, forests, and other natural resources, and also makes reimbursement for losses resulting from its activity.

Corporate individuals and citizens make payment for pollution of the environment at the established rates, depending on the level, volume, nature, and duration of the pollution and the sphere it has affected.

Payments for pollution are transferred into the non-budget state fund for protection of the environment. The amounts and procedure for payment are established by the Ukrainian SSR Law "On Protection of Nature in the Ukrainian SSR."

Ukraine Political Situation Termed 'Frightening'

91UN0373A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 22 Nov 90 First Edition p 2

[Article by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA special correspondent F. Sizyy: "...And By Violence We Will Destroy"]

[Text] What will happen to democracy if big politics is conducted on the streets?

It is frightening when the hunt is for a human being. And it did look like he was being hunted...

On 28 October, near St. Sophia Cathedral surrounded by a tight ring of blockade, I saw how a man in civilian clothes was rescued—with difficulty—from the mob.

Somebody pulled at his scarf, revealing a holster harness behind it. Another yelled: "KGB agent!" The mob lunged at him, but police detective I. Grigoryev managed to free himself and escape.

"Ganba!" somebody shouted. "Ganba!" echoed the crowd in unison. (That means "shame.")

They were kicking Frolov Monastery's Mother Superior Antonia with their feet. A young monk fell down, then an old bearded man in a cassock. They were beating up and shoving many of those—most of them old women—who were moving toward St. Sophia in a peaceful procession to greet His Holiness the Patriarch of Muscovy and All Russia Alexis II, carrying bouquets of flowers. They, the ones who stood in the procession's way, were young and strong. Some wore khaki uniforms of Afgantsy [Afghanistan veterans]. This is "Rukh varta." The guard. Equipped for close-combat conditions. Officer belts, portable radios. Singing songs about free Ukraine and shouting threats, they blocked the way of the Orthodox Christian believers' procession. They were ripping the crosses off helpless old men, shouting: "Comrades! Why have you come here?! You all serve the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs]! Get out of the Ukraine!"

And the old women were crossing themselves and crying.

It was no joke when a crowd of agitated people, separated from God by big politics, blocked the entrances to the cathedral.

Here is Sergei Golovatyy, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] people's deputy, a jurist, by the way, and a former CPSU member, trying to climb up the bodies of Internal Troops soldiers to jump over their heads.

And Patriarch Alexis, looking confused...

The day before, here, on the same square, people came to greet another most holy—Mstislav, patriarch of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. There were no clashes. Nobody yelled "Ganba!" at the distinguished visitor from America. Because the adherents of a different Orthodox church thought it best not to interfere. It was here that patriarch Mstislav said these words: "Good people, embrace each other, look into each other's eyes!"

These two churches represent two different trends, two different positions. I would not dare to be the judge of which church is better and which worse, which is more native, which is more orthodox. Only the believers will decide that. But I do not think that His Holiness Mstislav's appeal, as well as Alexis' appeal for love and tolerance, is directed at some select believers. I think that God cannot divide His children by nationality or language. If this is not the case, it is not real faith.

On that ill-fated day those in Bogdan Khmelnytsky Square, with mostly delegates of the Rukh congress throwing their weight about, learned for the first time what religious clashes mean.

I asked many of them: Do they believe in God? No, they confessed, they do not. It is impossible to understand them, and where would one even begin, seeing Mikhail Horyn, Ukrainian people's deputy and a professional psychologist, throw himself under Patriarch Alexis' car. It is plainly absurd. It is hard to explain the nature of such action on a part of a statesman laying claim to a role of a democrat in a still totalitarian state.

I sincerely bow my head to M. Horyn for his fight against the dictatorship at the time of great distress for my country. I bow my head to People's Deputies S. Khmara, L. Lukyanenko, and many others who have served time in labor camps as political prisoners. But I cannot agree that today, as it was yesterday, all means are acceptable as long as they allow one to reach a political goal.

Those who are on the defensive today had done the same. They had been striving to achieve their goal, ignoring the laws of nature. So it does not make any sense to speak about the truth.

I remember a class in Ukrainian literature, when I could not agree with the ideological content of the verses written by Dmitry Pavlychko, one of the current Rukh leaders. We were forced to memorize his verses about the good and affluent life, and about the party which inspired us to heroic labor. I was dismissed from this class for disobedience, and my father was summoned to the school. Father could not come, for he could no longer walk after a mining accident and was bedridden in hospital.

This was 1975. I remember it all—to forgive.

I admit that the idea of public repentance of the Communist Party leaders of the time appeals to me, too. But are the new leaders who now rule the streets all that innocent?

"In the course of ensuring public order, some police officers received minor injuries." This was laconically announced at the republic Ministry of Internal Affairs news conference on the events that took place during Alexis' visit. "Eleven people were injured."

As to police detective Grigoryev, he simply got lucky that day. Less than two weeks later he, an experienced investigator and recipient of a combat medal, would be taken prisoner.

... On the morning of the 7th, the day of our state holiday—the October day—he was on plainclothes duty, as before. In an underpass at October Square, I. Grigoryev reprimanded a young woman on a folding bed with a blanket wrapped over her shoulders.

By the way, it was here the night before, when the crowd, swept with zeal for independence and civil disobedience, was trying to block the Kreshchatik, that I heard somebody shout at a police officer: "You will hang right next to Lenin!" Something like that could be heard every time the agitated human stream stopped the traffic, trying to take the square next to the Supreme Soviet by storm.

I do not want to seek excuses for anybody, but where will the cult of culture come from if the session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, broadcast by both radio and television all over the republic, teaches us quite different lessons in ethics.

The colonel would be "taken." A good dozen men, all in good shape, would jump him and twist his arms; one would skillfully shove his head back. They would search him roughly, find and take away his weapon and portable radio, identity card, consumer coupons, money, and party card. His shirt would be torn to pieces.

The sanction for this action came from Ukrainian SSR People's Deputy Stepan Khmara, his deputy's card held high. It all happened in an instant, in front of the whole police cordon made up of 18- to 20-year-old Army conscripts. A shock? After all, a people's deputy was standing right by...

Somebody shouted: It is him. He was at St. Sophia's. The crowd murmured angrily. The hunt ended with a "catch." They wanted so much to prove that this man was from the KGB, no less. Cameras started to click.

A few minutes later columns of demonstrators were already marching along Kreshchatik. Celebration slogans thundered in the air. The leaders of the republic and the Ukrainian Communist Party were greeting the procession of people, some of whom had to break through to Kreshchatik with the assistance of Ministry of Internal Affairs Special Troops.

It seems that somebody had thirsted for blood so that later acts of popular vengeance could be provoked. Police reinforcements from nearby oblasts had been brought into Kiev. And although at the meeting of leaders of various parties—members of Narodnaya Rada—it was decided to avoid confrontations, the situation had become irreversible.

I saw how people's deputies tried the night before to talk a group of people into abandoning the blockade of Kreshchatik. It did not work. Then, with their silent countenance, another, the most effective, argument had been used—police units.

If the leaders of today's opposition draw honest conclusions from this November story, these conclusions will hardly be reassuring: It is much easier to rouse and unite unhappy people for a protest action than later to stop them from rioting. As it turned out, even they cannot control the unruly human mob. There is no doubt that, unnoticeable in the crowd, there will be people who will direct the mob's wrath: whom to get, where, and how. I am afraid that these people either do not have a sense of responsibility for human life, or have just plainly lost their sense of reality.

It is interesting to notice that one sees more or less the same faces among the rioters. There are not too many of them. If a major action is being planned, convoys of buses arrive from the Western Ukraine...

I saw a middle-aged woman near the Supreme Soviet building, after the students had already won. She was holding a white flag and a placard. She was ready for self-immolation. First we had hunger strikes. Now there is a danger of campfires made of human lives...

The woman came from Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast, with a collective letter from war veterans.

"Our ribbons get ripped off. We are being taunted..."

And this is in the oblast where the democratic bloc won the elections.

Totalitarian democracy is just as frightening as a dictatorship. Extreme left is just as dangerous as extreme right.

A classic example of political terrorism may be found in the story of a gasoline tanker from Ivano-Frankovsk. Somehow it ended up being a part of a convoy of "rioting" buses next to the Supreme Soviet residential building. An gasoline tanker explosion would have had tragic consequences first of all for the human crowd, and then for the building itself. Negotiations were coming to a fruitless end. It was then that USSR People's Deputy V. Yavorivskyy approached the rebels occupying the roof of the tanker. The same man who is one of the Rukh leaders. With horror plainly written over his face, he spent several minutes begging these people to stop. "I can see that you are animals, not people," he was saying. But they came here under his influence and because of his appeals...

How many more similar situations on the edge on explosion we can list. Should any of the students on hunger strike have died in those October days—God forbid!—the protesting crowd would have demolished everything in its way. Students already were coming to factory gates, chanting: "Fathers, come to your children!" I think that this was somebody's attempt to compensate for the unsuccessful—actually, failed—all-Ukraine strike.

There is struggle for power going on. And this is as natural as nature itself. A republic party does not want to be left behind by an extremely radical interparty assembly. Other political movements do not want to lag behind the party. This does not bode well for millions of people for whom politics means first of all normal life.

The Rukh congress has openly declared its active opposition toward the communists and the system. But the struggle of ideas should not lead to physical struggle. And if we want to be completely honest to ourselves and, most important, to future generations, then while we denounce the October revolutions as a coup d'etat we should not today, at the end of 20th century, take a similar road against legally elected state authority.

By the way, when I looked up my name in the lists of journalists accredited to the Rukh congress, I found it under the rubric "foreign." This is how easily I found myself abroad, outside of my motherland.

Moscow has become a generic name. The Ukraine has even tried to shed Moscow time, changing the time zone of the republic. Several oblasts, however, have refused to take this step toward sovereignty.

The center today is paying the price of the mistakes of the past. In 1985 V.V. Shcherbitskiy supported the candidacy of a young general secretary; this word of the oldest Politburo members carried certain weight. It seems that all these years, until this February when Shcherbitskiy was no longer there, the Ukraine had been protected from direct Moscow interference.

Meanwhile, a stream of complaints on lawlessness in the republic kept going to Moscow, and, it seems, this last hope turned out to be beyond the reach of many, many dispossessed people.

Way back there were whispers in the Ukraine about the price paid for the golden stars awarded for sugar beet, potatoes, coal... If we bring back today those few truth-seekers, the picture of that surface wealth will be different, I am sure. We only need to recall the consignments affair, strings from which led all the way to the top, or the potatoes affair, which had been cut at the bottom. State subsidies for agricultural products measured in the hundreds of millions of rubles; what was missing was the product to match this amount...

It was clear to many that the top was cocooned in corruption, but nothing could be done about it. As a matter of fact, the situation still has not changed.

A year ago my assignment brought me to the Chernobyl area. I saw dying children who did not have enough biologically clean food. I had no trouble locating the "eighth department"—the manger of the higher-ups.

I believe there are forces in the republic who have no interest in stirring the Ukrainian stagnation swamp. Many sincerely believe, however, that the democratic processes are being torpedoed by Moscow.

So the people, tired of lawlessness and crooks, took to the streets. First in Chernigov. Then in Zhitomir. Then it started to spread. Then came Rukh, the popular movement for democracy, which took under its roof and nurtured many people of sometimes opposite views.

The Communist Party of the Ukraine also helped. Its leaders, that is. They did not want, or were afraid, to go and face the people on the streets; at the same time they did not have the energy to leave the captain's bridge.

The Ukraine has learned what a funeral for a live person is. By exchanging Kiev for Moscow, and the post of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet for the one of the deputy general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, V. Ivashko undermined the already weakened faith in the Communist Party. He was given a symbolic funeral with theatrical flair.

Rukh was staging the spectacles; the leaders of the Communist Party were waiting for the moment when

such a diverse movement would make its first mistakes. These mistakes were becoming obvious. The people have grown tired of words and rallies.

Rukh was beginning to move away from democracy. Pluralism had stopped being a natural background for its development. With such a mass movement? The Rukh leaders no longer realized that there could be no other movement of the kind.

It was in this, far from simple, environment that disdain for law and order has become commonplace. The structures on which the state rests started to crumble.

High-level law enforcement officials recently wrote to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet: "...In some oblasts there are serious conflicts on religious grounds; there is a consistent tendency toward the formation of armed structures among criminal and politicized groups, which may lead to a destabilization of the situation and grave consequences..."

Today in the Ukraine the authorities are searching for almost 2,500 firearms, five machine guns, 60 kilos of explosives, 53 automatic weapons, and 345 handguns... This is not counting the "dangerous cargo" that arrives from abroad and other hot spots in the country. We have already heard the grenades "talk" at the Ivano-Frankovsk City Council, at the Lenin monument in Feodosiya, in the law enforcement organs building in Kramatorsk. More than 120 threats have already been directed at deputies.

The atmosphere of fear is becoming a natural backdrop in society, in which both the right and the left declare democracy as the only guarantor of human happiness. Fear and uncertainty.

Because of the political equinox of two forces, the legislature today is incapable of solving the problems that affect the lives of the peoples of the Ukraine. Issues of principal importance are being blocked by either one or the other side. Big politics is being conducted today on the streets and city squares.

The intellectual part of the nation does not come here.

"They sit at home and cry," Miroslav Vladimirovich Popovich, a doctor of philosophy who had stood at the beginnings of Rukh creation, said bitterly. Today he is not going to the streets either.

"I do not want to be responsible for the events as they are developing now... Yes, Rukh has done a lot for national unity, but there is also that invisible line beyond which democracy is being sacrificed on the altar of the interests of national rebirth of the Ukrainian people."

Now we hear voices: "the Ukraine is for Ukrainians..." It is not a chorus yet. It is not the official line of Rukh or other political movements. But what will happen tomorrow if today these anti-Russian sentiments are not condemned at the everyday level. Others, too. There has been an attempt to forcibly speed up the process of

"Ukrainianization." And where, of all places? In the Crimea, in the Donbass, where the majority of population are Russian-speaking. There is no justification for the forcible Russification that the Ukraine has been subjected to, but today's processes are just as immoral.

Ukrainian Jews are fleeing their motherland. Last year about 40,000 left, this year there are twice as many applications.

At the meeting of the organizing committee of the Party of Democratic Unity, which has been formed by members of the CPSU Democratic Platform, I received a note: "In the Ukraine today they do not point fingers and ask you what nationality you are, not yet. But this level of trust may not last long. There are people, and there are forces behind them, who are gradually leading us down the road of separation by nationality. These are terrifying forces. Nobody talks about it, but a future split and grief for the Ukraine emanate from here." Signed by Kiev Polytechnical Institute associate professor... (I deliberately do not mention his name, I am a little afraid for him.)

It is frightening when the hunt is for a human being. Whether he is a communist or an anarchist. A Russian or a Tatar. It is frightening when the streets dictate their own laws. Even when it is our best sons and daughters who are gathered there. Because emotions cannot always be controlled by reason. And what if they contradict reason?

"If you do not know what to do, go by the book," said Kiev's Procurator V.I. Shevchenko.

It is that simple.

Correspondent Views 'Uneasy' Political Scene

PM0212204990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Dec 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Sergey Tsikora under "Direct Line" rubric: "Inside and Outside Ukrainian Legislation"]

[Text] Kiev—Court proceedings may be instituted against 21 Ukrainian Supreme Soviet deputies if the USSR general prosecutor regards as convincing the arguments of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] prosecutor, who has raised the question of instituting criminal proceedings against his colleagues in the legislature, whom he accuses of slandering him.

Journalists were told this at a news conference in the Ukrainian SSR Prosecutor's Office.

Information blackening—in the opinion of the republic prosecutor—his honor and dignity was published in a number of local publications and circulated among deputies. I will not take it upon myself to retell it—first, so as not to become the 22d accused and, second, because what lies behind this "legislative incident" is certainly

not people's personal sympathies or antipathies with regard to each other. This event has a different underlying cause.

Investigators of the Ukrainian Prosecutor's Office are now engrossed in the case of Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Deputy S. Khmara, recently arrested in connection with the disarming of Internal Affairs Ministry Colonel I. Grigoryev. The legislative opposition has its own opinion about this: They consider S. Khmara's incarceration a provocation against democratic forces and the actions of the Prosecutor's Office the purest arbitrariness. The arrested deputy declared a hunger strike 26 November with demands that included the dismissal of the republic prosecutor. It is not hard to guess what a weighty argument could be provided in such a situation by "cooked" facts from the official career of the person who at the present time is supervising the conduct of the investigation...

The coming week will show what decision is made by the Soviet Union's general prosecutor, to whom his Ukrainian colleague has turned for protection. But it can already be confidently stated today that this fact will nudge the needle of the political barometer in the Ukraine, which is already moving day by day toward stormy. The political confrontation and its circles radiating from the center are becoming an increasingly noticeable factor in life in the Ukraine. The chief protagonists here are the republic Communist Party and the Ukrainian people's movement "Rukh."

Here is a brief chronicle of their relationship of late. The Ukrainian Communist Party, which retreated in October under the onslaught of "Rukh" and the students, has recovered from the shock and has itself switched to the attack. The people's movement declares its opposition to CPSU ideology, while the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo in turn appeals to the republic's citizens "to deal a resolute rebuff to political extremists pushing the people toward enmity and disagreement." Oles Gonchar quits the ranks of the Communist Party after disagreeing with its internal policy. The Central Committee convenes a republic conference of Communist writers and commissions the intellectual reserve to struggle for minds.

The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet is finding it increasingly hard to work. If a document with political ins and outs is submitted for its examination, its adoption becomes a real torment. Here are recent examples. At a recent plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee S. Gurenko, its first secretary, placed special emphasis on the fact that the Communist Party is a ruling party with all the ensuing consequences. The opposition resorts to openly blocking draft laws which do not tally with their political views. A majority in the Supreme Soviet decides to change the temporary standing orders so as to deprive the "People's Council" of the possibility of basically influencing the voting results. The amendment is adopted, but the opposition

declares that it will disregard it, as the vote did not take place according to the rules.

An improbable situation has begun to take shape: Laws have ceased to work not only outside the walls of the Supreme Soviet but also beneath its roof. The opposition has even announced the creation of its own legislative ethics commission which will examine the cases of deputies who are members of the "People's Council."

The most serious conflict in the Supreme Soviet this week occurred 29 November. The resolution on urgent measures to strengthen legality and law and order in the republic was having its second reading there. The stumbling block was an openly politicized proposal—henceforth to hold rallies and demonstrations "only out of work time, on days off during the week, and in specially appointed places." The opposition deemed it an infringement of human rights and constitutional freedoms, accused the majority of "introducing a fascist system in the Ukraine," and left the hall, declaring that it could continue work on the document only if it clearly differentiates between political demonstrations and the struggle against crime.

The resolution was still adopted, but without the participation of the necessary two-thirds of legislators. Then the opposition deputies decided to publish in the press an alternative version of the resolution supporting measures to combat crime but proposing a different mechanism for holding demonstrations and rallies. Clearly, in the present situation the documents both of the majority and of the opposition will hardly influence the strengthening of law and order in the republic.

In short, things have become uneasy in the Ukraine. Here is the latest news: Journalists have been told that, in view of the circumstances that have come about, "Rukh" is getting its grand council together for an extraordinary session 1 December. The chief question is the situation in the republic—what to do now?

Crimea Issue, Interethnic Tension Examined

91UN0425A Moscow TRUD in Russian 2 Dec 90 p 2

[Article by correspondent N. Mokrishchev: "The Crimean Issue"]

[Text] Crimea Oblast—The deputies and those invited passed as if running a gauntlet between the rows of picketers who had gathered in front of an entrance to the building where a session of the oblast soviet was about to begin. Crimean Tatars were there with slogans: "Everybody has the right to live in the motherland of his ancestors;" "The status is a new act of coercion." Ukrainians, hoisting national yellow-and-blue flags, protested the planned discussion of the Crimea issue. Next to them, women under a tricolored Russian panel held up a placard: "Unification with Russia will save the Crimea..."

All of them, very different people but yet very much alike in a way, were brought here out of concern about their future and that of their children and grandchildren. The life of citizens of the Crimea keeps getting worse. The grocery stores are empty; meanwhile, the shipping of agricultural products beyond the borders of the oblast keeps growing year after year. This is happening despite the fact that, in addition, millions of people coming from all over the country for treatment and recreation have to be maintained. Rich resorts do not generate profits for the citizens of the Crimea. While shamelessly using the unique benefits of the peninsula, the ministries and organizations do not think about those who live there. Departmental arbitrariness, as well as a policy of mechanical increases in the population of the Crimea, have brought about an extreme shortage of social facilities for the people. The oblast lacks water, electricity, day-care centers, hospitals, polyclinics; sewage management is in disarray. Schoolchildren frequently go to school in two and even three shifts. Many citizens of the Crimea have now been waiting for 15 to 20 years to improve their housing conditions. An ecological disaster is looming for the peninsula.

Interethnic relations in the Crimea are very tense. The issue of the return to their historical motherland and resettlement of the Crimean Tatars, who were forcibly deported in 1944, is the main factor in interethnic relations. A critical situation has developed on the one hand due to the belated adoption and atrocious implementation of an all-Union return program, and on the other hand to a massive unorganized migration of the Crimean Tatars and unauthorized seizures of land. The Ukrainians are afraid that they will wake up "abroad" one day. The Russians, who are an overwhelming majority in the Crimea, are afraid that from tomorrow on they will be obligated to immediately master the Ukrainian language, and they may even end up as refugees. Many reasons for enhancing the status of the Crimea have been given. An organizational committee set up in Simferopol for this particular purpose has lined up arguments using historical, ethnic, international, economic, and political factors.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. Sagatovskiy, department head at Simferopol University, said: "The Crimean Peninsula has never been a territory settled exclusively by any one nation. All state entities known in the past were multinational. Not a single entity existing in the Crimea before Soviet power included the entire territory of the peninsula. Therefore, not a single nation which populated the Crimea at some point in the past or populates it at present may claim a historic right to own the territory based on the principle of sovereignty of a single nation. All nations and ethnic groups of the Crimea are equal and responsible to each other..."

It is precisely on the basis of these principles that the Crimean ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] was formed in the fall of 1921 as a territorial entity ensuring the equality of all the peoples of the peninsula,

as a union of nationalities. Local power structures were built on an interethnic basis.

FROM A MEMO: In the late 1920's, 207 Russian rural soviets were created, as well as 144 Tatar, 37 German, 14 Jewish, nine Bulgarian, eight Greek, three Ukrainian, two Armenian, and two Estonian rural soviets. Later, 26 rayons were formed, out of which nine were ethnic rayons. Three hundred and forty-eight Russian and 304 Tatar schools were opened, as well as 349 schools of other nationalities. National clubs and a Tatar theater were in operation, and newspapers were published in the two state languages, Russian and Tatar.

Well, this was a useful experience of nationality development. The scientists and politicians of the Crimea believe that its significance under current conditions is not only theoretical but also practical. At the same time, as they see it, transplanting the experience of these years automatically to the present-day environment is out of the question. At present, the Crimea is more multinational than it was in 1921, and not a single nation resides in a sufficiently compact manner.

Deformations of the war years altered many things. At the very beginning of the war, 50,000 Germans were deported without any justification. In 1944, 165,000 Tatars, 15,000 Greeks, 12,400 Bulgarians, and 8,500 Armenians were forcibly expelled from the Crimea. These acts of the most heinous arbitrariness and genocide were followed by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree dated 30 June 1945 "On the Transformation of the Crimean ASSR into Crimea Oblast of the RSFSR" and a similar Russian law dated 1946. A decision to transfer Crimea Oblast from the RSFSR to the Ukrainian SSR in February 1954 was equally arbitrary.

A session of the oblast soviet of people's deputies in September of this year adopted a statement, addressed to the parliaments of the USSR and Russia, on repealing the unconstitutional acts of 1945 and 1946 that deprived the Crimea of statehood. This will restore a territorial autonomous unit, which an increasing number of residents of the peninsula are striving for. In addition, the events of this fall in the Ukraine, particularly in Kiev, became a catalyst of sorts and abruptly aggravated the Crimean situation. The lawlessness which is sometimes asserted through the actions of individual officials and certain Ukrainian SSR people's deputies makes the people fear that destabilization will bring about trouble.

This time the people are raising the issue of not only creating the Republic of Crimea but also of its being an integral part of the Soviet Union. There are statements, appeals, decisions of a number of labor collectives and citizens, and a large mailbag to this effect. Within merely a month, 21,000 people signed letters addressed to the oblast soviet alone. From among them, 85.6 percent favored an autonomous republic, and 14 percent a Union republic. This is why the fourth extraordinary session of the oblast soviet was convened with just one

issue on its agenda: "The Status of the Crimea and its Attitude Toward the Union Treaty."

The session proceeded aggressively, with passions flaring up, and yet with a large dose of a principled approach and common sense. L. Grach, chairman of the Permanent Commission for Harmony in Interethnic Relations and the Spiritual Sphere, considered the proclamation of a Union republic not to be expedient, and no speaker brought it up again. However, almost all of them saw fit to make statements in favor of preserving the USSR and reinforcing it on the basis of the principles of renewal. In the opinion of Deputy Yu. Meshkov, the future of the Crimea within Russia is preferable. Several other speakers agreed with him. However, nobody proposed repealing the 1954 act which transferred the Crimea to the Ukraine. Emotions are transient, and impatience has never been useful in matters of policy. Proceeding from this, most deputies believe that proclaiming the Crimea a Union republic or as part of the RSFSR amounts to separatism, which presupposes severing a part of the Ukraine. The latter has proclaimed its sovereignty and the indivisibility [nedelimity] of its borders.

Yu. Stupnikov, chairman of the Sevastopol City Soviet of People's Deputies, noted: "Under the current circumstances we, the residents of the peninsula—Ukrainians, Russians, Crimean Tatars, and other peoples—should live together and in peace..."

The situation in the Ukraine is such that a number of oblasts may take a harsh stand on the Union treaty. In view of this, Stupnikov proposed that the issue of a federative division of the republic, similar to the division into lands of modern Germany, be discussed in the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

It is set forth in the Ukrainian Republican Party program that only the Crimean Tatars have the right to resolve the Crimean issue. What about the Russians, who number 1.6 million in the Crimea? What about the 600,000 Ukrainians and other peoples? Here is the opinion of Deputy S. Shuvaynikov:

"Even now the interests of ethnic and political forces are clashing on the issue of the status of the Crimea; this is causing very serious concern. This may bring about a Moldavian or Karabakh scenario. However, the Crimean scenario is going to be much more dangerous: In this case, three ethnic forces may clash—the Crimean Tatars, the Ukrainian population, and the Russian population. The latter is suffering particularly: On the one hand, there is the possible pressure of Ukrainianization, while on the other the prospect of an ethnic autonomous unit."

Shuvaynikov believes that the issue of Russians and the Russian-speaking population in the Crimea is one of the most serious and significant. He even voiced the following apprehension—one day it may come to volunteer detachments being sent against Russian "separatists" from some oblasts of the Ukraine. A speech by Sergey Shuvaynikov and political charges leveled against some

republic deputies advocating the creation of a new "independent ["samostiynaya"; rendered in Ukrainian in the original] empire" caused a frank response by L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, who was present at the session.

Leonid Makarovich said: "I am in favor of the existence of the Crimean autonomous republic. However, we should strive for autonomy without severing the mighty bonds of friendship that have emerged in the Ukraine. If anyone is afraid of deputies from the western oblasts of the Ukraine who suppress common sense in their loud voices, I do not believe that this does any honor to internationalists. The Russian and Ukrainian peoples should not be separated. This would be an irreparable mistake."

The session adopted the Declaration on the State and Legal Status of the Crimea. It reads:

"The Crimea Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies considers the Decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 30 June 1945 and the RSFSR Law dated 25 June 1946, which abolished the Crimean ASSR, to be unconstitutional, and affirms the right of the peoples of the Crimea to restore their statehood in the form of the Crimean ASSR as a subject of the USSR and a party to the Union treaty.

"This right should be exercised exclusively on the basis of a show of the will of the people by way of a referendum..."

However, by all signs the legislatures of Russia and the Ukraine also subscribe to this position. A treaty recently signed by the republics provides for recognizing their territorial integrity within the borders currently existing in the USSR. As B.N. Yeltsin explained, the status of the Crimea depends on the will of its population and the legislature of the Ukraine.

It was decided to hold a referendum on 20 January 1991, with the participation of Crimean Tatars and other peoples deported from Crimea Oblast who now reside in other republics of our country.

Crimea Oblast Soviet Chairman N. Bagrov said: "Preserving the Union and creating conditions for the harmonious development of all the peoples residing in the peninsula is the objective for which we will strive."

Crimeans Hear Kravchuk; Set Referendum

91UN0378A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 14 Nov 90 pp 1,3

[Report by PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent O. Pronina and UKRINFORM special correspondents A. Grigoryev, V. Demidenko, and L. Ryabchikov: "Will There Be a Crimean Republic?"]

[Text] On 12 November an extraordinary session of the oblast soviet of people's deputies adopted a declaration on the state and legal status of the Crimea and confirmed

interim provisions on a referendum and procedure for holding it on the territory of Crimea Oblast, together with the date—20 January 1991.

The question of restoring the Crimea's statehood has been placed on the agenda by time itself. The problems have appeared like mushrooms after a warm rain. The most explosive of them is the interethnic problem. As everywhere in the republic and country, fertile ground is being provided for this by the impotence of the local authorities. The oblast's present status restricts local opportunities to take prompt steps in the socioeconomic sphere and in other matters. The slowness of the Union-republic organs in deciding on a state program for returning the Crimean Tatars to their historical homeland, on the one hand, and the mass disorganization of their transfer, on the other, have created a critical situation in the oblast.

While talk about the program continues, more than 100,000 Crimean Tatars have already returned to the peninsula. They all need housing, food, and work. Where are the resources to come from, how is it possible to turn things around if today even the allocation of plots of land is beyond the competence of the local soviets?

About 500 Union and other departments are defending only their own interests in the Crimea. It is nothing to do with them that this rich land is dying. And again, the local authorities can do nothing. What is the solution? How can the Crimea be saved, a Crimea that is today threatened either by the conflagration of interethnic war or ecological tragedy? Deputies from the oblast soviet see a solution in restoring Crimean statehood and proclaiming the peninsula an autonomous republic. They stated this in their declaration on the state and legal status of the Crimea adopted at their session.

"The complex sociopolitical and socioeconomic situation in the oblast," it says, "insistently demands a change in the state status of the Crimea.

"The Crimea Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies Regards the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium edict of 30 June 1945 and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] law of 25 June 1946, which abolished the Crimean ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], as unconstitutional, and they state that the peoples of the Crimea have a right to restore statehood in the form of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic as a subject of the USSR and a signatory to a Union treaty. This right should be exercised exclusively on the basis of the will of the people as expressed in a referendum."

The fact that the provision on the referendum was adopted by a majority notwithstanding, the debate on it was not a simple one.

Are we ready for a referendum? What questions and what formulation should be submitted for discussion? How will it deal with things such as the local budget, and

who will finance it outside the Crimea? Will the referendum have the force of law or will it remain only a sociological study reflecting the sentiments of people in the Crimea? Answers must be provided to these and many other questions.

It was the opinion of most of the deputies that an organizing committee to handle preparations of the question on the status of the Crimea should, together with scholars and economists, prepare an economic substantiation for each of the possible scenarios. It is essential that Crimeans make their choice in an aware manner and have precise knowledge about how it will be reflected in their standard of living. Many people believe that the issue should be resolved with the Ukrainian legislature, dealing with it tactfully and respectfully so as not to provoke a situation like the one in Moldova.

While we do not have space in this report to talk in detail about the work of the session, note should be made of its businesslike and constructive approach, despite the discussion on procedural matters by some deputies that took up a whole hour, and the lack of restraint in some deputies and the vagueness of some statements. Any issue, even the most acute, can be discussed constructively without heating up a situation. The Crimean deputies demonstrated work at that level.

L.M. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, spoke at the session. First of all, he said, I would like to join those deputies who have made statements and said that the question of the status of the Crimea is an historical one for the inhabitants of the peninsula. It is essential to take advantage of the chance that has been presented to us by democratization and perestroika and to restore to the Crimea its right to statehood. If fact, this issue is of extreme importance since it is a matter of the future of the people living here.

It is essential to act in such a way that the decision reached will be in line with legal, state, and civilized standards, and that it is reached on the basis of law and order. I personally have no doubt that the Crimea should be an autonomous Soviet socialist republic. There is talk about something else. The problem must be resolved on the foundation of history, giving due consideration to the present situation. For during the years of Soviet power in our country, including in the Crimea, there have been enormous demographic, economic, and social changes. Crimea Oblast is linked to the country with thousands of threads, and with the Ukraine and the other republics.

I think that there is a legal basis for defining the further status of the Crimea. Whether or not to hold a referendum is the business of the oblast soviet. In my opinion, there is no need for a referendum. I am sure that this issue can be resolved without one. Here, incidentally, voices have been heard saying that we have a greater affinity for the RSFSR than the Ukraine. Well, this is the deputies' right. I would only like to say this: When has there been a case in history when an entire

people or the greater part of it—the Russian people in this case—refused friendship with the Ukrainian people? I do not know of such a case. Yes, there have been tsars who oppressed both the Russians and the Ukrainians, and there was Stalin. But at that time the fate of peoples was decided at the level of satraps.

Let us assume that the list of questions on the referendum includes one on attitude toward the Ukraine. Events in the republic are developing ambiguously. This must frighten off some people. Moreover, irresponsible statements made by particular deputies help to create this kind of heated atmosphere. Thus, one of them here said that a wave of nationalism has, unfortunately, engulfed the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. This does not accord with reality. There are statements by individual people's deputies on this issue. If we approach things in this manner we shall have a phenomenon on which all those who want to can speculate. It is not only the people's deputies who have separated themselves from the Ukraine, they say, but an entire people that does not wish to live together. Think about that. This is a very high dais from which to make irresponsible statements.

There is more. People's Deputy Tsekov says that the Ukraine is moving away from its work on the Union treaty. I do not know where Comrade Tsekov, as a people's deputy of the Ukraine, got that information. The draft treaty sent to everyone by the president of the USSR states: Solid practical groundwork has already been done. After the meeting of the Council of the Federation consultations were held among working groups from the RSFSR, Belorussia, Moldova, Kirghizia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenia, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia... The Council of the Federation discussed the draft and decided to call it not a treaty but a concept for a Union treaty, and to consider it at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and submit it for national debate.

Second, where, in what document, is it written that the Ukraine is leaving the Soviet Union? There is no such document. If we now raise the question of attitudes toward the treaty, then what are they? The same as in 1922. No one has violated it, it exists. What about the new treaty? Well, it has not yet even been published.

L.M. Kravchuk recalled that the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet has adopted 150 documents. They include the declaration on state sovereignty, the law on economic independence for the republic, the law on priority social development of the countryside, and others. So, the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet said, why lead the people of the Crimea into error and then sow the seeds of mistrust for the Supreme Soviet?

Crimea Oblast should have the status of an autonomous Soviet socialist republic, the speaker continued. It should have this, giving due consideration to today's realities, which include the fact the Ukrainian SSR does exist and that Crimea Oblast is part of it, and that the acts of 1945 and 1946 were illegal. Incidentally, I have

proposed, and I think that the Ukrainian and RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidiums will support me, that they jointly sponsor disaffirmation of the immoral political accusations against entire peoples. This will be done, but we should resolve this without breaking the firm ties of friendship and brotherhood that have been established today in our republic. Here, what has been said is "the Ukraine and we." If the issue of deputies about to introduce proposals on our republic seceding is raised, then I am no adviser for you in that. In that event you must invite someone else to a session of the oblast soviet, but not the chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. Although I do understand that by no means everyone thinks this way.

The Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic... Whether or not this will be something that everyone living in the Crimea must decide—Russians, Ukrainians, Tatars, Krymchaks... If the issue is resolved positively then the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic will have the right to its own constitution, with all that that entails. If you want to raise the question of where to live and with whom to live, I have already answered that. And interethnic problems will arise here. Those who have gone down that road have gained nothing good. Karabakh and Moldova are good examples. I propose that you move along the road of reason.

L.M. Kravchuk then answered numerous questions from those attending the session. In particular, touching on the conclusion of a treaty between the Ukraine and Russia, he noted that an economic agreement has already been signed by those two republics. There is a draft for a political treaty. The chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet said, we favor a further strengthening of the links with the republics, first and foremost the Russian Federation. In the treaty with it we intend to designate the problem of the rights of all the peoples living in the Russian Federation and the Ukraine. If economic and political ties with the republics are established on a lawful, legal basis, then the Soviet Union will continue to live and well.

Answers were also given to questions relating to the national symbols, the law on languages, the introduction of coupons in trade, and other matters of concern to the inhabitants of the peninsula.

Crimean Obkom Secretary Views Situation

91UN0462B Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Dec 90 Second Edition p 1

[Interview with N. Bagrov, chairman of the Crimea Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom, by correspondent V. Vasilets, in Crimea Oblast; date not given; published under the rubric "The USSR—Our Common Home": "What Will Happen to the Crimea?"]

[Text] In our great country there are special corners to which each of us feels he belongs. Such is the Crimea—an all-Union health resort with a caressing sea and a

healing climate. More than 7 million people visit it every year. This is the reason for the universal attention to the sociopolitical processes taking place in the oblast. Will the Crimea remain a hospitable peninsula united by close ties with the entire Union and the Ukraine, or turn into an independent "nation"? Our correspondent asked N. Bagrov, chairman of the Crimea Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom [Oblast Party Committee], to comment on the current situation in the region.

[Bagrov] I believe that I will not be mistaken if I say that these processes are reflected most clearly in the final documents of the special session of the oblast soviet of people's deputies which took place recently. A number of important rulings were adopted which were directed at the reconstitution of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] as a subject of the USSR and as a participant in the preparation of a new Union treaty. This is one of the main steps in the direction of restoring the Crimea's statehood. It is a step that is legal, democratic, and that is being made in the interests of the majority. The decision has been made to conduct a referendum in the Crimea in January 1991.

[Vasilets] The special session. Why was there a need to conduct it?

[Bagrov] After adoption by the USSR Supreme Soviet of the declaration on the restoration of the rights of deported peoples in November of last year, the sociopolitical situation in the Crimea has evolved under the influence of two factors. One of them is connected with the return of the Tatars, and the other with defining the status of the Crimea. These are parallel, naturally occurring events that are the result of deepening democratic processes, a growth in the civil and ethnic consciousness of the people who live on the peninsula and in their confidence in the right to create their own fate. The Crimea is our common home, and we want it to be good for us and our grandchildren, and we do not want anyone to feel squeezed under its skies. But this requires that we get rid of all the contradictions which have accumulated over the decades.

[Vasilets] What do you mean by that?

[Bagrov] Primarily I mean the problems of the return of the Crimean Tatars. In 1987 hardly more than 10,000 of them lived here, and now it is 10 times that number. Some 28,600 people have returned this year alone. You will agree that such a pace cannot help but complicate an already tense socioeconomic situation. I speak about this to focus the attention of the country's government once more on the need to take the additional measures required by these circumstances.

At the same time I wish to emphasize that we ourselves are not sitting on our hands in these troubled times. Despite the great objective difficulties, we have already settled and found jobs for the overwhelming majority of the arrivals. Over the last year alone, after a special decision by the oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive

committee], the Crimea accepted not 8,400 families as it was supposed to, but 14,600. Of these, 7,000 received plots of land, 5,700 acquired homes, and 1,900 received housing through other channels. We have just finished working out a plan for settling Tatars throughout the territory of the oblast. I stress that it is throughout the entire oblast, and not around Simferopol or on the Southern Shore.

[Vasilets] Apparently this is the source of ultimatums and situations which create tension?

[Bagrov] You are right. These are the sorts of conflicts that arise. People who have raced to their former places of residence without preliminary coordination with the authorities of the Crimea are now demanding land. Inasmuch as the resettlement has taken on a mass character, problems are occurring in the distribution of plots of land. Delays are viewed as unwillingness by the authorities to meet the "Varangians" halfway, and individuals are simply beginning to seize the land.

This leads to a conflict of interests between, on one hand, the existing masters and labor collectives and, on the other, the arriving Crimean Tatars. I think they were right in Kazakhstan to adopt a law punishing seizure of land by individuals. We have made a similar request to the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, and we expect the latter to pass the necessary legal acts. Simultaneously, in the republic's Council of Ministers we have presented proposals regarding the formation of a state program for resettlement of the Crimean Tatars. Currently the process is administered by the city and rayon soviet executive committees, a specially created department in the oblast soviet executive committee, and a committee for deported peoples' affairs which functions on social principles.

[Vasilets] Have you managed to make any headway?

[Bagrov] We have formed a Tatar theater; exhibitions of Crimean Tatar artists, sculptors, and masters of decorative and applied arts have become a permanent factor in the cultural life of the Crimea; and more than 100 ethnic music groups and other artistic collectives are functioning in the oblast. A supplement to the oblast newspaper KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA comes out in Tatar. The Crimean Tatar language is being introduced into the school program to an increasing extent. Simferopol University has begun training ethnic personnel for the education system.

Acclimation of the Crimean Tatars to the new spiritual and ethnic environment is promoted by concern for their cultural and historical heritage. Restoration of the Bakhchisaray museum is being conducted with the participation of Crimean Tatar specialists, mosques are being reestablished, and obscure monuments are being revealed.

[Vasilets] Much is being done, but are there still plenty of problems?

[Bagrov] A sea of them. I will mention the main one. The question of providing the Tatars with jobs. Out of a population of 49,900 people who are fit to work in public production, only 32,700 are employed. Or another example. We need to come up with an additional 22 million rubles for routine maintenance of the institutions of the oblast's overstrained social sphere. Our requests for a centralized allotment of funds have not been answered. We are very much in need of a state program to resolve the "Crimean question."

[Vasilets] One that would also define the status of the Crimea?

[Bagrov] We certainly need a legislative initiative in this case. At the third session of the oblast soviet, the deputies adopted a declaration to the effect that the Crimea Oblast Soviet considers the 30 June 1945 Edict of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the 25 June 1946 Law of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] abolishing the Crimean ASSR to be unconstitutional, and a special organizational committee was created to devise proposals on the future status of the Crimea. People's deputies of the USSR and Ukrainian SSR from Crimea, representatives of national movements and cultural and educational societies, scholars, and journalists were asked to work on the organizational committee. The committee came to the conclusion that today's structure as an oblast is holding back the development of the region, is not offering the opportunity for it to fully utilize existing economic potential, and is opposing the attempts of the central and republic ministries and departments to resolve interethnic problems.

[Vasilets] As a result, it is a question of reestablishing the Crimean ASSR as a subject of the Union and a participant in the Union treaty. But other voices are saying, "Let us secede from the Ukraine!"

[Bagrov] There are a few isolated people saying that. But the overwhelming majority are in favor of autonomy, being a subject of the Union, and the right to take part in the preparation of a renewed Union treaty. By this principle we mean supremacy of the laws of the republic while simultaneously granting the center those powers that would unite a union of sovereign nations. Once it worked out a temporary statute on the referendum and a procedure for conducting it on the territory of the oblast and beyond its borders, the session requested that the Supreme Soviets of Russia, the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kirghizia, and Kazakhstan, where the Crimean Tatars and other peoples deported from our oblast live, help us to conduct the referendum among those peoples.

[Vasilets] What was their reaction to these proposals?

[Bagrov] The reactions varied. A certain portion of the citizens declared that the autonomy should only be Crimean Tatar. They stated that the Crimea is their homeland and only they, the Tatars, have been given the right to determine the status of the peninsula. I do not

wish to trouble the reader with the dispute in this case. I will only say that no one people who settled the peninsula at some time in the past or who are settling it today can claim an historic right to possess territory on the principle of the sovereignty of a single ethnic group. Therefore it is in the form of territorial autonomy that statehood should be returned to the peoples of the Crimea; and within that framework, when conditions are ripe, it will be possible to create ethnic rayons and other administrative structures. Such an approach to the problem, in our opinion, could genuinely help to hasten resolution of the accumulated contradictions and allow the Crimean Tatars and other deported peoples to consider themselves equals among equals and realize their political rights in practice.

[Vasilets] In conclusion, I would like to use PRAVDA to appeal to all Crimeans, deported people returning to their lands, and to all who are not indifferent to the fate of the oblast to restore the Crimean ASSR as a subject of the USSR and a participant in the Union treaty in the name of the future of this beautiful corner of our Homeland. I am convinced that a reevaluation of the political history of the Crimea, a cleansing of gray areas in that history, and restoration of justice with relation to deported peoples will, step by step, lead to civil harmony and a new return to statehood and ethnic consciousness for the region.

Tatars End Yevpatoriya City Soviet Occupation

PM2011111590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Nov 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by Correspondent V. Vasilets from Crimea Oblast, under the "Extraordinary Situation" rubric: "The City Soviet Is Not a Flophouse"]

[Text] PRAVDA has already reported the unlawful actions committed by groups of Crimean Tatars in Simferopol, Yalta, and Belogorskiy Rayon. A fresh action has followed. A group of 46 people, including 12 women, arrived at Yevpatoriya City Soviet with a demand that a 140-hectare land parcel, where the tent city of Ismail-Bey already stands, be allotted to immigrants and that all its inhabitants be immediately given residence permits. The authorities turned down the ultimatum. In response, the newcomers refused to leave the sessions hall and organized a sleep-in there.

The city soviet is not a hotel. Attempts were made to evict the tenants. No way! As a sign of protest against the law enforcement organs' legitimate actions, Alime-Sherfe Ibragimova, mother of several children, declared a hunger strike while her compatriots raised their blue national flag above the building housing the city soviet executive committee.

It flew above Yevpatoriya for almost a week, the city was in a state of tension for almost a week. This is understandable. The local population has plenty of daily problems of its own, whether water supply disruptions or lack of domestic heating... Some people were even afraid

to go there for routine enquiries—who knows if they might end up as hostages in the extremists' hands.

A militia detachment cordoned off the area to avoid clashes. The Tatars interpreted this in their own way, assuming that an act of violence was being prepared, and summoned help. More than 100 fellow-tribesmen had already gathered in the sessions hall by 11 November, and bottles with inflammable mixture appeared in their hands. The [militia] detachment prepared for self-defense. It is easy to imagine how the confrontation might have ended. Representatives of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers and the USSR Supreme Soviet helped to defuse the situation. Together with Yevpatoriya deputies and negotiators from the Tatar side, the mediators visited the Ismail-Bey Microrayon where unsanctioned housing construction is already under way. But the point is that the complaints had been misdirected. The occupied fields no longer belong to Yevpatoriya City Soviet, they were transferred to Sakskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee a long time ago.

Taking the extraordinary nature of the situation into account, the authorities decided to allot 66 hectares of fields to the city and transfer it to the Crimean Tatars. At the same time, it was enacted that the section should be divided into 520 parcels. On hearing this news, the occupiers left the sessions hall.

Is the conflict over? Not quite. An additional 70 hectares of land, belonging to the same Sakskiy Rayon, must be sliced off to fully satisfy the demands. What will happen?

The Crimean Tatars have been allowed to return to the peninsula, but nobody bothered to set up a resettlement mechanism, and to this day nobody knows the exact number of people wishing to change their place of residence, nor have locations been designated to be densely inhabited by the exiles. Chaos reigns in the Crimea. Tatar groups occupy agricultural land without authorization and slice up fields under cultivation, thus causing justified indignation among the land users. Moreover, the question of creating a Crimean Autonomous Republic, its secession from the Ukraine, and its recognition as member of the USSR was raised at a recent session of the oblast soviet of people's deputies. This caused fresh frictions between Tatars, Russians, and Ukrainians and agitated the entire republic.

The Crimea is seething: What will be its status? A nationwide referendum is proposed. Could this be the way to dot all the "i's"? For the time being, one point is important: Everyone must abide by the law. Strongarm pressure and extremist actions, regardless of who undertakes them, are not the way to solve political and national problems.

Rukh Leader on Political Developments

*LD0412124690 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian
2200 GMT 1 Dec 90*

[Report by correspondent Andriy Derepa on the first session of the Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroika Grand Council in Kiev on 1 December]

[Text] [Derepa] Only a month has passed since the second All-Ukrainian Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroika] Congress, but what a month it has been! There have been so many events in November, the situation in the republic has been changing so swiftly that the session of the Rukh Grand Council, the highest ruling body of this organization between congresses, was forced to examine the political situation in Ukraine as the main point of the agenda.

Ukrainian People's Deputy Mykhaïlo Horyn, Rukh's first deputy chairman and Political Council chairman, and Mykola Porovskyy, chairman of the Coordinating Council, delivered comprehensive reports on this issue. After discussing problems touched upon in the reports and exchanging views, the members of the Grand Council adopted a corresponding resolution and an appeal to the Ukrainian people.

I asked Mykhaïlo Horyn to summarize his own point of view on the situation in the republic for the listeners of Radio Kiev.

[Begin Horyn recording] If one should speak about the political situation in the Ukraine it is a period of reactionary offensive. After the defeats [words indistinct] and this year, reactionaryism has been coming to its senses for a long time and now, having summoned its strength, it started an offensive against the democratic forces in the Ukraine on a wide front. This offensive is not only in the legislature, it affects our society as a whole. Reactionary laws have been adopted in the legislature which as a matter of fact restrict completely the legislative opposition's opportunities to influence the decisions of the Supreme Soviet—properly speaking there is no opposition. The party hierarchy played for a certain period of time a game of democracy and multi-party system and has seen that the young and youthful opposition which is only trying to stand on its own feet and which has no political experience has gained a whole range of significant victories over the party bosses despite their 70 years of experience in ruling the country. Both the Ukrainian sovereignty declaration and the bill on Ukrainian economic independence were really great victories. Now the regulation on urgent measures regarding the improvement of the struggle against criminal offenses is still more reactionary. This resolution does not affect the political parties as much as it affects the Ukrainian people who are now rising from their knees and want to participate actively in the political life of our people.

Therefore the prohibition against carrying out strikes and the prohibition against meetings are flagrant violations of basic human rights, rights which are enshrined in all international documents, although nobody pays attention to these now.

At the same time the speech by General Moiseyev at the Supreme Soviet session gives rise to a deep anxiety. He wanted to convince the session that what was needed was a review of the decision on our youth serving their military conscription on the territory of the Ukraine since, as he put it, such a review would be in line with the interests of the Russian state and the Russian army.

Properly speaking, a general who has no experience in political struggle revealed unwittingly much of what is kept close to their hearts by those who know how to restrain their tongues. The speech by Defense Minister Yazov on 27 November was especially reactionary. Yazov unequivocally stated that our children will serve where indicated by the state. Thus, he cynically slapped our Supreme Soviet in the face. The legislature did not even react to this. Yazov interferes in political life and takes upon himself the solving of political problems by force. It is apparent in point six of his statement which says that the Army will guard monuments to servicemen and fight those forces which erect monuments to fascists and their toadies—and those monuments already unveiled will be destroyed. This is nothing but an attempt to introduce a state of emergency in the Ukraine by subterfuge.

The incident with Deputy Khmara is simply unprecedented. What it amounts to is complete restriction of rights of people's deputies and annulling those rights. All these facts testify to the fact that reactionaryism is on the offensive. With the help of the state of emergency it wants to turn back the wheel of history, to a state that existed five or six years ago.

[Derepa] What can RUKH and all democratic forces do in such a situation?

[Horyn] We consider that the most important task today is the (?characterization) of the political life in the Ukraine. In my opinion, coordination committees should be created at each enterprise and in each city for uniting all democratic forces which aim at constructing a sovereign Ukrainian state. These structures have to be ready to reject resolutely the Union treaty when the proper time for doing so arrives. I think that Rukh will be preparing itself for more serious political action. Initially it will be through widespread warning meetings or strikes lasting for a hour or two to see what forces there are at our disposal. Afterward we will decide what to do next.

Properly speaking, we realize that a political struggle for creating a state is not equivalent to a continuous advance. It includes victories and defeats. But as genuine adherents of the construction of the Ukrainian sovereign state, we must do everything possible to turn our defeats into victories. [end recording]

[Derepa] Apart from the political situation in the Ukraine, about which Mykhaylo Horyn just outlined his view, the Rukh Grand Council also reviewed and confirmed organizational changes in the Rukh structures, having brought them in line with the changed program and rules of the organization and with the new strategy and tactics, adopted at the Second Rukh Assembly.

Paper Examines Ukraine Political Currents

First Part

91UN0311A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 16 Nov 90 p 1

[First part of article by special correspondents N. Belov, G. Dolzhenko, M. Martynov, L. Sotnik, and N. Tyurin under the rubric "Let Us Understand Each Other": "Where Rukh Is Headed"]

[Text] Kiev—*The recent Second All-Ukraine Rukh Congress declared its opposition to the Communist Party, with the reservation merely that "the communist rank and file who wish to be cured of communism should have an opportunity to be so." Where is Rukh headed, in fact? What is happening today in the republic?*

Quite recently Rukh's republic headquarters moved to Kiev, to a new building in Victory Square. The word "new" is relative: It had previously housed some medical establishment, which had, like the whole of the health service, been dragging out a miserable existence. And for this reason the present owners immediately set about renovation. It is today just a cloud of dust there—construction workers are whitewashing, daubing, painting. But what is remarkable is that nameplates have already appeared inside the building on the stripped doors: Department of Propaganda and Agitation, General Department, Organizational Department, Foreign Relations Department, Reception. What is this? Signs of bureaucratization, or the symbols of the contemplated replacement of the current directive structures?

Still fresh in the memory are the days of the first Rukh congress. In the spacious club of the Polytechnical Institute, Cossack marches thundered out, yellow, blue, and crimson banners fluttered in the glow of the floodlights, and speeches unprecedented in the Ukraine since the times of the Central Rada, probably, were heard. Rukh was conceived of as a force capable of uniting all patriotic people, regardless of place of residence, national and religious affiliation, party membership, social position, education, and age, who are concerned for the future of the republic and its economic and cultural revival. Every conceivable popular front and alliance was emerging at that time in almost all republics; in the Ukraine, however, this process was behind-hand. The authorities were distrustful of the new organization, suspecting it of an intention to create its own party, split the unity of the people, and other mortal sins. The Rukh program published six months prior to the congress in

the newspaper *LITERATURNAYA UKRAINA* was accorded a hostile reception, although it was entirely in the perestroika mold.

It is understandable that in such an atmosphere the Rukh leaders could not have been contemplating an honest, candid discussion and the unification of democratic forces under one roof. Although even then and subsequently at the congress also it was obvious how diverse in terms of mood were the people pouring into the movement. What about merely the Ukrainian Helsinki Union, which became the nucleus of the Rukh! The majority of its members had been professional political fighters and yesterday's dissidents and camp inmates with avowedly anticommunist views and an orientation toward the Ukraine's conversion into an independent state. The ideas of national independence and the incapacity of a union of peoples controlled from the center to pull the country onto the road of socioeconomic progress were preponderant in other groups and formations which also constituted the Rukh.

We should not, probably, retell the history of the Ukraine here, but that some of its features had been glossed over or interpreted every which way is today an incontestable fact. Many books and monographs of the past called figures of the Ukraine who had supported a better fate for it nothing other than traitors, Polish puppets, and Turkish stooges, and generously endowed them with other disparaging epithets. This applied to the Leaders Ivan Vygovskiy, Pavel Tetera, Ivan Mazepa, and Petr Doroshenko, and the later statesmen M. Grushevskiy and V. Vinnichenko with their well-known Fourth Edict of 22 January 1918, which proclaimed the creation of the Ukrainian People's Republic. The works of the classics of Ukrainian literature were also frequently subjected to selective extermination.

The theory of the "withering away of nations" was continued by the last of the Mohicans of stagnation—V. Shcherbitskiy. Under him Ukrainian was eliminated from the everyday usage of the schools and higher educational institutions in every possible way, and pseudo-internationalism proudly fluttered on the banners while much that was national came under the heading "criminal." Denunciation bloomed luxuriantly. People were sent to prison for poems, articles, and statements of a national-revival nature. A. Sakharov's well-known Nobel lecture read out in Oslo in 1975 named 120 political prisoners, and a good half of them were from the Ukraine.

This is not being written to once again rub salt in the wound. Besides, some people would very much like to cancel out all history, forget it and start life from scratch. But this cannot be done. And for this reason it is necessary to understand why and for what reason Rukh emerged, ascertain its roots, and then think about how we should all live henceforward.

Perestroika broke open the secret safes and removed the shackles of censorship, and the previously forbidden

fruit of thoughts on the fate of two great Slav peoples have become virtually the daily property of periodicals, radio, and television. The sources of Russian great-power chauvinism and Ukrainian nationalism and the roots that grew into the repulsive "topknot" and "moskal" nicknames are being investigated.... Even the Ukrainian embroidered shirt is being called an item of anti-Semitism by some malicious figures.

Anything can happen in the ardor of debate, and there is no lack of demagoguery. A caricature in a March issue of the newspaper SLOVO, say, showed two jolly, elegant fellows, two sovereigns of 1654. Centuries later one of them was gaunt and poor, but the other had a full sack of chattels. These were the two Slav neighbors of 1990. It was not difficult to make out who the sufferer was from the topknot on the head of one of the characters in the cartoon. The entire falsity is that neither have the Russian people become rich, however; they are living in deprivation the same as Ukrainians.

Rukh has made the basis of its economic policy the denationalization of production, the decentralization of administration, the granting of the workers and peasants the right to dispose of the results of their labor themselves, deliverance from the diktat of the Union ministries, and struggle for economic and political independence. Its program proposes bold solutions of problems of the environment, social justice, national and cultural development, and religion. In a word, a program similar on the whole to the goals set by the communists. It is not fortuitous that the members of Rukh have now even proposed at the congress removal of the words "for perestroika" from the name of their movement.

But why, for all that, do anticommunism and confrontation with the "official authorities" take up so much space in the ideology and practice of Rukh? After all, the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee has publicly dissociated itself from the pages of history which are stained by the Stalin regime and has proclaimed and is pursuing a policy of the national revival of the Ukrainian people and the Ukraine's sovereignty. Because the mere mention of the Cossack strelets or a theatrical performance involving Cossacks in wide pants and fur caps still frequently evoke fear or condemnation in some people. Even today we do not know the whole truth, evidently. Only that which Trotskiyites and Stalinists of all stripes considered necessary was pumped into our heads for decades. History should be studied in its entirety, however, without ideological blinders. People have begun to compare, analyze, and think. And Rukh, let us be fair, has had a notable hand in this.

So in just over a year Rukh formed an opposition in parliament and proposed an alternative way out of the economic crisis and a number of other most important transformations. Many full-fledged political formations have darted out of its nest. The most notable and influential of them is the Ukrainian Republican Party—reformed from the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. It numbers today approximately 5,000 members, and its

chairman, L. Lukyanenko, has spent almost three decades in prison and in exile. The republicans adhere in their views to the following positions: the independence of the Ukrainian state, the disbandment of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, and condemnation of "Lenin's personality cult." The All-Ukraine Interparty Assembly, which has begun to register citizens of the Ukrainian People's Republic (?), and the Association of Democratic Soviets and Democratic Blocs in the Soviets of the Republic have been formed under the aegis of the Ukrainian Republican Party. Fifteen people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] are members of the Ukrainian Republican Party. The National Party, which numbers 150 persons with a 50-strong youth section, also emerged almost at the same time.

What else? The Christian Democratic and Popular Democratic Parties numbering 1,000 persons each, the "State Independence of the Ukraine" Association, the Peasant Democratic and Social Democratic Parties, and the Independent Ukrainian Youth League. The creation of the Democratic Party, which is also conceived of as an alternative to the Communist Party and will be followed by the Rukh center, in the main, was announced in the spring. Future Slav Revival and Liberal Democratic Parties have been announced also. They are almost all built on the principles of rejection of communist ideas and the Ukraine's secession from the USSR.

Rukh is today akin to an empty Trojan Horse, from whose belly those hiding there until the time of the war have departed. Events have developed according to the same script in the Baltic also, where behind a screen of democratization popular fronts were formed which, having become an anticommunist force, then began to dictate their will to the governments. The same thing is, as a whole, being repeated in the Ukraine, but in a slower, more complex version; the situation and scale are different. And Rukh can no longer be what it has been up to now.

The second congress was conducted in far more staid fashion than on the first occasion. The hall did not erupt in a chant of "shame" following each barb fired at the "commies," and dozens of yellow and blue banners did not flutter tiresomely before one's eyes. Indeed, the congress was held nowhere else but in the "Ukraina" Palace, where, as deliberately emphasized repeatedly, Communist Party forums are usually held. We are now the same, equal political force, they said. Beginning with the report and in all the subsequent speeches the speakers advocated an abrupt change in the movement's policy course. After the word "perestroika" had been jettisoned as unnecessary, total state independence became the rallying cry. The creation of a democratic bloc of all parties and formations in opposition to the Communist Party of the Ukraine and adhering to the Rukh platform was planned as the first step toward it. It is this that is to be the organizer of new elections to the

soviets on a multiparty basis. In respect of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, Rukh adopted an irreconcilable position only because it is guided by a center which is outside of the republic, read: in Moscow. Become "separatist," it will then, allegedly, be another matter.

These are the general contours of Rukh's aims, so to speak. Their achievement has proven to be a far more complex business, however. The first condition for this has to be unity of ranks, and there is not such in Rukh as yet. The movement has been inundated by a variety of time-servers, to whom it is all the same which banner they carry, as long as they are on top and can grab as much as possible. The writer Ye. Sverstyuk evaluated the situation thus: The time of demagogues is coming. Nor is there unity between the regions, particularly between east and west, and this fissure is widening, threatening to grow into a chasm. The recent events in Bogdan Khmel'nitskiy Square in Kiev, where clashes occurred between believers, revealed the serious contradictions on religious grounds. The most delicate place in the Rukh program has proved to be its economic part, however. Even the delegates, to judge by the mood of the hall, did not believe the seriousness of the assurances of young Candidate of Sciences A. Savchenko, who proposed from the rostrum a switch to the market in just... three or four months. Never mind the 500 days! Whence the distrust of the penchant for hare-brained schemes of the Rukh people on the part of the miners and steel workers—of all who have the least inkling of economics—and distrust of political actions.

Nonetheless, let us not oversimplify matters: Rukh is a serious political force, and it has to be reckoned with in the republic. It is essential to find here currents capable of dialogue, to seek points of contact together, and to act and not attempt to "bend" them and make them just another structure accountable to the apparatus, as was the case a year ago. We should give serious thought to the fact that the very small parties hatched out in the Rukh nest can, apparently, bring to clamorous mass meetings thousands and thousands of people. Packed squares are listening to them. Not all the speakers are, after all, calling for the ax. We are all—opposition and ruling party—faced with the transition to the market. The longer we fail to hear one another, the more quickly we will move toward a deepening of the confrontation, and the longer it goes on, the more palpable will be the costs. The opposition may not understand this. But we communists are duty bound to.

Second Part

91UN0336A Moscow *RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA*
in Russian 17 Nov 90 p 2

[Second and final part of article by special correspondents N. Belov, G. Dolzhenko, M. Martynov, L. Sotnik, and N. Tyurin under the rubric "Let Us Understand Each Other": "Fall—An Alarming Month"]

[Text] Kiev—*Future historians will have a more accurate idea of the present stages in the history of the Ukraine, but*

even today it can be said that last year's election campaign and its results became a unique political watershed between two epochs.

In the Western Ukraine (Lvov, Ternopol, and Ivano-Frankovsk Oblasts) candidates of the democratic bloc, which during the election fight included representatives of Rukh, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union (UHU), the Taras Shevchenko Society for the Ukrainian Language, the Union of Independent Youth of the Ukraine, the "Greens," and a number of other informal organizations, have won an absolute majority. Despite its air of noisy meetings the election campaign was distinguished by good organization, comprehensiveness, and unashamed populism. The people in the democratic bloc unerringly found the painful spots in history and in our contemporary existence, and hurled off an accurate cannonade at previously designated targets. No matter how the bureaucratic apparatus, now susceptible through its monopoly of power, tried to oppose this onslaught with perestroika slogans, under the leadership of the Ukrainian Communist Party, it did not have much success. Why?

First, because many of the election proposals were based on the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. Even the best of these have long since been bought up, if we may use the expression, in the market of ideas by those same Rukh people and other informals. Second, the perestroika people from the apparatus looked very unconvincing because they had used up the credit of trust allotted to them even before the elections.

Many party organizations then were simply confused, we were told by Valentin Ostrozhinskiy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee secretary, who quite recently headed the Ternopol party organization. For we did not have any experience in political struggle.

We thought: How did the party that in 1918 seized power in the Ukraine and ruled the republic for such a long time suddenly lose its experience of political struggle? What is the essential nature of this paradox. It is evidently that both the CPSU and the Ukrainian Communist Party long ago ceased to be political parties but have been transformed, as M.S. Gorbachev has said, into a nucleus of the command administrative system. When the system started to come apart at the seams, the nucleus had virtually no political fighters capable of breaking out of the comfort of their offices and engaging, as Lenin would have put it, in a real fight.

We recall the following episode. The party committee of the Donetsk "Panfilovskaya" mine prepared itself carefully for the meeting, even though the agenda in the announcement was drawn up in a quite streamlined fashion: "On the role of the party organization in the labor collective." All the communists knew that the meeting would be a turning-point: Would there or would there not be a party committee at the mine? And here someone started the rumor in the city that the party organization at the mine was planning to move across to

the social democrat platform. Was this not why representatives of the Kuybyshev Party Raykom [rayon party committee] led by First Secretary N. Malashenkova and correspondents from various newspapers had arrived there? At the appointed hour, however, about 50 of the 450 communists registered gathered. As he left the hall, one of the miners sighed in a distressed manner.

"It is obvious that now we shall never have the meeting...."

This is of course an isolated event, and it would hardly be right to draw any far-reaching conclusions from it. There are also contrary examples, where the party organizations are actively pursuing the line of the 28th CPSU Congress and where their role in the life of the labor collectives is acquiring the features of a vanguard political force. But here is an alarming fact: The second stage of the Donetsk city election-and-accountability was virtually wrecked for the same reason—because of the delegates' failure to appear. This was no simple meeting but, one might say, a forum for the representatives of a detachment of more than 80,000 communists. We might add here the refusals to pay membership dues based on total wages (to include long-service bonus and the annual bonus), which has now become mass in nature. We think that the culmination of this alarming account is the increasing resignations from the party, which in the Ukraine already amounts to more than 90,000 people.

There are many reasons why communists are being removed from the levels of power, but the chief of them is the inability of the functionary in party uniform to engage in rigorous political actions. There are precious few examples of other qualities, to the point of catastrophe. It is strange but a fact that the elections in the Ukraine in general brought victory to the Communist Party, but up to now it is as if the party does not know what to do with that victory. The party majority in the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, or the "group of 239" as it is still called, has still not promoted from among its own ranks brilliant leaders capable of engaging in polemic and gaining the attention of not only the deputies but also the broad masses. Here, the opposition People's Front, which unites the Rukh deputies, is far ahead on points, at least in the eyes of the unsophisticated voters.

Lest we make unsubstantiated statements, let us cite some excerpts from the speech made at the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum by Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet. The plenum took place on the eve of the opening of the second session of the Ukrainian legislature. (It is curious that the republic newspapers printed not a single line of this speech). Thus:

"The people will support us if we offer them concrete deeds. At present this means the economy and finding solutions to social issues.... If this occurs we will push into second place all those about whom the political speculation is now rife...."

"What do people want? They say this: Just make one tangible good move.... We spend all our time talking, but in reality we are doing nothing...."

"You know that the majority of deputies in the Supreme Soviet are communists, and they all voted for the Declaration on Independence and the Law on the Republic's Economic Sovereignty. According to those documents everything on republic territory is declared to be republic property. But up to now the Central Committee and the plenum have not expressed their attitude toward these documents. Do we support them or not? What is opening: There in the Supreme Soviet communists voting "aye," but when they gather here, in the plenum hall, do they have a contrary opinion?"

"Plant directors have proposed that we introduce at least a republic order. Our Council of Ministers remains silent...."

"How do things stand with combining the duties of obkom secretary and chairman of the oblast soviet? Why has the plenum not expressed itself on this subject? Incidentally, when the separation of powers took place, for some reason the secretaries preferred not the party post but are trying to get themselves into the armchair of chairman of the oblast soviet...."

"One more thing. Since 10 September, long before the session, opposition deputies have been working energetically in the Supreme Soviet and have drafts for all documents. Up to now we have been unable to meet. Moreover, on 1 October the opposition organized a demonstration while our deputies from the Communist Party again gathered here, taking refuge from the traffic conditions.... For some reason everyone wants to shift responsibility onto someone else. But who is hampering us in bringing proper order? Who is preventing us from adopting a decision to submit drafts of sensible laws and resolutions to the Supreme Soviet?"

The picture of the cooperation between the Ukrainian Communist Party and the legislative majority in the government looks about the same. It is a sorry picture; you can only call it a progressive attenuation of power and will. And all of this is happening against the backdrop of activity by an opposition that borders on aggressiveness. For on the day that the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet session opened, the Narodnaya Rada managed to bring thousands of citizens out onto the streets of Kiev and hold meetings and demonstrations and bring thousands of the Rukh people in from various oblasts! And the opposition did not stint in resources. For example, 24,500 rubles were paid for the bus route from Drogobych, and money was taken from the socio-cultural funds at two plants, the crane plant and the chisel plant. How did the ruling party and its legislative majority oppose this? They also drew their forces into Kiev, but those forces were clothed not in jackets and coats but in the uniform of the militia, and in special-purpose security teams [omonovtsy] in coveralls.

On 28 September we spent the entire day sitting in a Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee plenum. Without any particular feeling of satisfaction we listened to the report of Central Committee First Secretary Stanislav Gurenko. It contained everything: condemnation of destructive forces, appeals for consolidation with progressive forces, indications on the need to enhance the role of the primary party organizations.... Yes, it had everything except the main thing—there was no strong and specific idea around which it would be possible to rally the more than three million-strong party organization, nor was there a program for extricating the republic from its deep economic and political crisis.

Then we listened to the numerous speakers, who also made appeals for this and that and "berated" particular persons, but no lightning flash of truth erupted in the hall. Even the angry and largely justified speech from the Supreme Soviet chairman failed to stir the audience. Then we read a sophisticated resolution, from which we learned, for example, that one urgent task for the party organs at all levels, and for primary party organizations and communists, should be "to remove the tension in society, stabilize the political situation in the republic, alleviate the material position of the workers under the conditions of the transitional period, and insure the personal security of each person." Many other worthy tasks were set, but the trouble is that no one knows how to resolve them. For the shelves of the food stores in Kiev are no more full than those in Moscow. There was even a long line for the buffet offered on the opening day of the session in the republic Supreme Soviet: for the people's deputies they had set out "Belomorkanal" and "Kosmos," which were distributed strictly two at a time.... True, at state prices; not like in Moscow.

As far as the session itself was concerned, it started with a fierce confrontation between the sides. Leonid Kravchuk's report on what had been done by the Presidium and the work during the legislature break satisfied no one. The opposition deputies accused him of inactivity on the part of the Presidium and republic government and demanded the resignation of both. The many thousand-strong crowd outside the legislature building, restrained by the police, created a thick atmosphere of resentment there and confusion here. Everyone expected a scandal. It happened when a group of deputies tried to bring the yellow-and-blue cloth of the national flag onto the dais. It even went almost as far as "fisticuffs," as they say.

The next day a skirmish took place between the pickets and the militia, and the work of the legislature was again interrupted.... The gears of the procedural mechanism were either not engaged or they turned so slowly that it turned out that the highest organ of power was paralyzed. That, incidentally, was what the opposition wanted.

What were its aims? One of its chief aims was the dissolution of the Supreme Soviet and new elections, because it reckoned on removing from the legislature as

many communists as possible and gaining a majority. Then the idea of the Narodnaya Rada could be put into effect—gaining full independence and having the Ukraine secede from the USSR. Whereas previously anticommunism was hidden behind democratic terminology, now it is openly set as the paramount element of a "self-evident" ideology. The formula here is simple: The Communist Party has led the country to impasse and denied the Ukrainian people their freedom, and brought them a great deal of misfortune. There is not a single bright ray of light. Hence, it not only cannot be the ruling party but should be banned and lose its right to own property, which should be nationalized. This is being said not only at meetings but also from the legislative dais. The response is either silence or weak resistance. It is precisely in this kind of situation that it is easy for the newly formed political parties to clear a path for themselves to the heights of power. And everyone now wants power, particularly the Ukrainian Republican Party. And this is something else that no one is hiding.

What are the opposition's chances of success? It is bad business to engage in political predictions, but let us nevertheless try to look into the future. The new political formations have a reliable social base in a number of oblasts in the republic, particularly in Galicia, where the crimes of the Stalin period are for many not ancient history but almost yesterday. Here, every word uttered by the Rukh people falls on favorable ground. The situation is somewhat different in the Left Bank area and the south of the republic, where the population is more mixed and there is a powerful working class.

In short, there is a swelling wave of resentment and mutual suspicion. And the worse life becomes for the people, the higher this wave will be. Theoretically there is a chance for improvement. But in practice there is a growing crisis in the economy and a decline in standards, including legislative standards, and a paralysis of power, both state and party.

We would not want to be pessimistic, but the trend in the base sphere is unambiguous. The general decline in labor and executive discipline, growing interethnic tension, and conflicts between the different religious denominations have also had their effect on the state of the Ukrainian economy. Over the past nine months contractual obligations have been met by the republic only 98.2 percent, and there has been a shortfall of 1.9 billion rubles of industrial output. The prerequisites exist for a decline in the indicators. Whereas during the first three quarters of this year industrial output growth rates declined 0.9 percent, for September the figure was 2.6 percent. We note that during the first three quarters of last year growth rates were 2.9 percent. The predictions for next year are even more dismal. Why? First and foremost because in September contracts were signed for the delivery of output from only 40 percent of the republic's enterprises, while at the same time last year the figure was 64 percent. It is not exactly clear what this means for the labor collectives.

In whose favor is time working today? It is difficult to say, for cracks have started to appear in the one-time monolithic opposition in the legislature and new political factions are emerging, and in parallel a process of demarcation is underway. Recent events associated with the hunger strike by students and the resignation of the head of the republic government have sharply complicated the political situation in the republic. The opposition is evidently counting on power methods, which at present are bringing it success. It is impossible to guess what this will mean for the fate of the Ukraine. We are convinced only of one thing, namely, that the people in the republic have grown tired of the endless political skirmishing. Outside the legislative milieu and beyond the line of meetings and demonstrations permeated with destructive emotions, people are living today with just one single thought: When will someone put an end to the disturbance whose final outline no one can yet discern.

Party of Democratic Revival Congress Ends

LD0212144790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1200 GMT 2 Dec 90

[Text] Yet another political force has proclaimed its existence in the Ukraine. The founding congress of the Party of Democratic Rebirth [partiya demokraticheskogo vozrozhdeniya] ended today. Its organizers are mostly former Communist Party members, who at one time supported the CPSU's Democratic Platform. A considerable number of avowed nonparty people have joined them.

Ukrainian Republican Party Registration Approved

LD2211130290 Kiev International Service
in English 0001 GMT 22 Nov 90

[Text] The Ukraine's Republican Party has received a certificate of registration from the Ukraine's Ministry of Justice.

This party is [words indistinct] and the only political party which has been registered on the territory of our republic.

Ukrainian Party Rejects USSR Constitution

91UN0397B Kiev KOMSOMOLSKOYE ZNAMYA in Russian
20 Nov 90 p 3

[Article by three officials of the Ukrainian Democratic Accord Party: "Do We Need the USSR Constitution? The Position of a New Political Party"]

[Text] How time flies! Many changes occur in our lives in a year, even a month, and sometimes within a week.... It appears that just yesterday the Kiev militia yanked placards "Power to the Soviets!" from the hands of demonstrators and tore them up, whereas today they look with virtual calm at banners with the proud slogan "No to the Union Treaty!"

We want to invite the attention of the readers to the exact meaning of this appeal. Actually, what does it mean? After all, R. Nishanov himself was recently forced to admit in the USSR Supreme Soviet that the 1922 Union Treaty is a fiction. We entirely agree with Rafik Nishanovich on this point, and we will add on our own that this "treaty" was a fiction from the very moment it was drawn up. This is why the ruling circles in Moscow have been talking for a long time now about renewing the union, whereas the slogan "No to the Union Treaty!" is perceived by a majority as a call to block negotiations on such a renewal.

Attentive readers could have noticed a certain inconsistency in the lines above. Indeed, if the old treaty is a fiction we do not have a union. What kind of "renewal" may there be in this case? In this case, it indeed seems that by negating the Union Treaty and blocking its signing we will advance toward the desired state independence of the Ukraine, toward implementing the concepts of the Declaration of Sovereignty.

Unfortunately, things are not all that simple. The point is that the imperial Union does exist after all; however, it is based, of course, on the USSR Constitution, which is in effect, rather than the fictitious treaty. Despite all the deficiencies and inner contradictions of this document, it gives President M.S. Gorbachev and the USSR Supreme Soviet an opportunity to adopt decrees and laws that violate the national sovereignty of the republics and to pay no attention to all of their declarations.

Let us look more carefully at what exactly the president offers us when he talks about a "new" Union treaty and a new "union of sovereign states." This sounds great, but what kind of union is it going to be? Something similar to the British Commonwealth or, perhaps, the EC? Unfortunately, it is not: The new union of states will itself also be a state.

Look what you get! A state within a state—a sober human mind cannot grasp it, because a state and sovereignty are things indivisible. There is no more Grade 1 and Grade 2 sovereignty than there is surgeon of Grade 1 or Grade 2 freshness: Either it is fresh, or it is not, in which case it belongs on a trash heap.

It appears that quite recently the CPSU leadership was enthusiastically arguing with the Balts about what precisely it is that they need more—"a strong center-strong republics" or "strong republics—a strong center." By now, not only these opposing and quite comical wordings have been forgotten, but also a "compromise" (but no less comical) wording that was worked out by the well-known CPSU Central Committee Plenum for ethnic issues and merged the two. The formula of President M.S. Gorbachev "the union of sovereign states" is undoubtedly more progressive and humane. He who has said "A" will unavoidably have to utter "B," that is, admit that such a union cannot by any means be a state.

This is why the Ukrainian Democratic Accord Party [UPDS] Organizational Committee adopted a resolution

at its regular meeting on 21 October 1990, beginning with the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the Ukraine, in which it set forth the following initiative:

"To propose that the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, and Supreme Soviets of all Union republics that have passed declarations on state sovereignty, jointly remove through legal means the main obstacle to the implementation of their sovereignty—the statehood of the USSR."

To this end, it is proposed that the Interrepublic Treaty on Suspending the Effect of the Ukrainian SSR [as published] Constitution be signed.

It is proposed that this treaty envisage:

- the succession-in-interest of states, a transfer of rights and obligations from the USSR to the sovereign republics as successor states on the basis of the continuity of treaties (that is, their uninterrupted effect);
- procedures for dividing and transferring to the successor states assets that are at the disposal of USSR state organs, including hard-currency and diamond stocks and the gold reserve;
- procedures for abolishing the USSR state organs.

We believe that the Ukraine and other republics striving for independence will only be able to secure genuine state sovereignty in reality rather than on paper on this basis. If the signing of a new Union treaty is merely blocked, the USSR Constitution will continue to apply with all the ensuing consequences.

It is interesting to know what our Ukrainian "president," Chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet L. Kravchuk, thinks about this. Recently, he held a press conference in Kiev, at which one of the journalists touched on this "hot" topic. In response, Leonid Makarovich, having hastily qualified it by saying that "there is no such thing as complete sovereignty," immediately changed the subject and began to discourse about "economic ties."

We cannot assume that the esteemed chairman lacks an education and fails to understand that sovereignty is a political notion, whereas economic ties in a market environment are simply referred to as trade. Furthermore, only free (sovereign) partners with equal rights may engage in mutual trade; otherwise it will not be trade, but rather something else. However, M. Kravchuk is not the only one to "confuse" such simple things. Have we not heard plenty of talk about "a unified national-economic complex" that ill-meaning "separatists" are trying to destroy? Apparently, a lack of education is not the issue here. What is the issue then?

Let us return to economic issues. Sober-minded people understand full-well that a European or any other developed market will not open its friendly arms to us any time soon. As is known, we would very much like to make purchases in this market, but for this we need to have money, that is, sell something ourselves. What are we to sell when at present we lack virtually everything

ourselves, and our goods are, to put it mildly, not quite competitive. Therefore, whether we want it or not, the (hopefully) sovereign Soviet republics will have to trade mainly with one another in the immediate future.

This is precisely why the resolution of the Organizational Committee proposes to sign the treaty on founding the European-Asian economic commonwealth (with a common market of member countries) and the treaty on the military-political coalition of countries belonging to this commonwealth simultaneously with the Interrepublic Treaty on Abolishing the Statehood of the USSR.

It is proposed that the Ukraine become a member of the military-political coalition only until its transformation into a neutral state, which is envisaged by its Declaration on State Sovereignty.

The UPDS also favors relations between the states in the European-Asian commonwealth being based on equal rights, noninterference in the internal affairs of one another, inviolability of the existing borders, and ensuring the rights of ethnic minorities on the territories of all countries of the commonwealth.

This is what our position is on the issues of the union. This is why we propose to complement the slogan "No to the Union Treaty!" with the call "No to the USSR Constitution!" [Signed] V. Filenko, co-chairman of the UPDS Organizational Committee, Ukrainian SSR people's deputy; V. Khmelko, co-chairman of the UPDS Organizational Committee, doctor of philosophical sciences; V. Chekhovyy, member of the UPDS Organizational Committee, doctor of technical sciences.

Validity of Miners' Kiev Picket Questioned

PM2811154990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
28 Nov 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent Nikolay Lisovenko under the rubric: "Direct Line": "Who Sent the 'Donbass Envoys'"]

[Text] Lugansk—A group of city soviet deputies in Antratsit, Lugansk Oblast, are trying to obtain an official response to the question of what kind of delegation recently traveled from their city to Kiev to demonstrate outside the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

As we know, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet is finding it difficult to work. The deputies have split—into the "group of 239" under Communist Party influence, and the "People's Rada." A miners' delegation traveled from Antratsit 19 November to back the "group of 239" with the following slogan: "We will sack anyone who refuses to work." These grown men were supposed to make an impression on the opposition, which frequently blocks communist deputies' proposals.

The sending of these "reinforcements" caused a great deal of gossip in the city of Antratsit. People are inquiring who organized it, how its participants were selected, and who is paying for it. City Soviet Deputies

A. Konyushko, A. Ostapovich, S. Sergeychuk, A. Razin, and S. Chumak (they also include Communists) explained that the action was led by V. Yeskov, second secretary of the city party committee, and that an "Icarus" bus was allocated for a group of 40 people, also laden with 120 cans of stew, 45 cans of condensed milk, 10 cans of soluble coffee, 10 kg of boiled pork, a pood of cervelat, apples, and much else. A medic went with the group, as if into battle.

Rumor has it that the miners spent the night in Kiev at KGB border troop barracks.

The city's public is indignant that no one at the city's mines provided the requisite authorization for people who were presented in Kiev as "Donbass envoys" and that this was done in secret, as in the old days.

You would have thought that the Antratsit party gorkom, the city newspaper, or the miners' trade union territorial committee should have explained the situation, but they have kept silent.

Transcarpathian Obkom Plenum Adopts Statement

LD1911204890 Kiev International Service
in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 15 Nov 90

[Text] A special statement was adopted at the plenum of the Trans Carpathian Oblast party committee to defend the communists of the western oblasts of Ukraine. The communists of Trans Carpathian Oblast demand that the Ukrainian supreme Soviet, the republican government, and the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party stop anti-communist provocations and make higher demands of Soviet and law-enforcement bodies to measuring the constitutional guarantees of citizens and prevent the outrages of illegal political actions.

Kikot Elected Kiev Party Obkom First Secretary

PM2611150690 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Nov 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent M. Odinets: "Situation Discussed"]

[Text] Kiev, 19 Nov—A Kiev Oblast party conference was held to discuss the political situation and the main avenues of activity for communists in the oblast party organization at the present stage of implementing the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress and the 28th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress.

A. Kikot was elected first secretary of Kiev Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom [oblast committee].

Lvov Communist Party Adopts Action Program

PM2711155790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Nov 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent V. Drozd under general headline: "Party Forums"]

[Text] Lvov, 26 Nov—The oblast party report-and-election conference completed its work by adopting a jointly drafted program of action in all areas of life in conditions of opposition. In a secret ballot delegates elected V.V. Sekretaryuk first secretary of the obkom [oblast party committee]. The conference was addressed by G.P. Kharchenko, second secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

Kharkov Oblast Communist Party Conference Ends

PM2811142190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Nov 90 Second Edition p 2

[Correspondent I. Lakhno report under general headline: "Party Conferences Held"]

[Text] Kharkov, 24 Nov—The Kharkov Oblast party organization conference has ended work here. Whereas at the beginning of June its delegates were still only discussing the situation in the party and at local level, now the new party oblast committee [obkom] has been elected. A.K. Myalitsa has been reelected first secretary of Kharkov Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom on a competitive basis.

S.I. Gurenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, took part in and addressed the conference.

New Rovno Obkom First Secretary Elected

PM1911120190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
17 Nov 90 Second Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent V. Drozd under the rubric: "Conferences Held"]

[Text] Rovno, 16 Nov—An oblast report and election party conference has been held on the theme of elaborating strategy and tactics and defining the role of communists in the worsened situation in the western region of the republic. In a secret ballot delegates elected V.I. Lutsenko, formerly second secretary of the party oblast committee, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Oblast Committee from a list of four candidates.